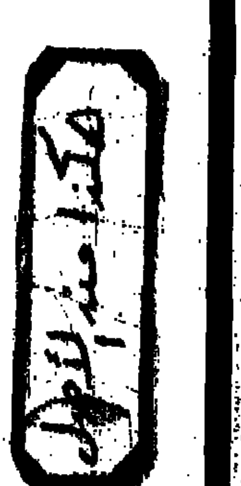


The German Tribune

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Kohl expected to change foreign policy emphasis

…trangely enough, the clear decision of the German electorate to return conservatives to Bonn has allowed …wing uncertainty to worm its way …foreign policy.

…his centres round the influence of … Bavarian Prime Minister, Franz …f Strauss. He wants to be the new …eign Minister, but is unlikely to be.

…Herr Strauss is, in fact, not ap…nted, the question would still re…n: how much influence would he …e on foreign policy, particularly on …*politik?*

…uring coalition talks on foreign and …urity policy and *Deutschlandpolitik*, … Strauss came armed with plenty of …uments.

…e provided an extensive analysis of …13 years of rule under the SPD/…P coalition and drew up a list of …t he considered had gone wrong in … period.

…e demanded that Bonn take a har…r line in its *Ostpolitik* negotiations …g the lines of give and take.

…ccording to Strauss, Germany isn't …erstanding enough about the diffi…ies facing the government of South …ica.

…nce again, he criticised the "zero …ion" solution to the Geneva talks … was not at all interested in continu…the foreign policy course of the pre…s SPD-FDP government.

…owever, all this is not likely to dis…cert Chancellor Kohl.

…There's nothing we couldn't agree …providing both sides are sincerely in…

…on such agreement", we hear Bonn …

…ow that Kohl and Genscher have …n confirmed in their coalition by the …toral mandate they are both inter…d in bringing about the *Wende* (tur…out) in the one political field as yet …lled: that of foreign policy.

… is no coincidence if Chancellor …l only speaks of "continuity" in the …text of the German attitude towards … Nato double-decision.

It would therefore seem that the adjustment of emphasis between Bonn's *Westpolitik* and *Ostpolitik* is not an issue of contention between Kohl and Strauss.

Kohl is also willing to deviate from his predecessor's course in clearly shifting the emphasis in Bonn's foreign policy towards German-American cooperation and cooperation within the western Alliance and the EEC.

Of course, there is no intention of allowing the progress in *Ostpolitik* to go to waste.

However, Bonn feels that it will be able to operate better and in a more balanced way if its policies have a firm footing in western coordination.

Yet Bonn reiterates: such a policy swing must not be effected to the detriment of its *Ostpolitik*.

This does not mean that Bonn will unquestioningly subject its line of foreign policy to the desires of the USA.

The government in Bonn will be as keen as the SPD to bring its "German interests" into play in connection with the talks in Geneva.

Kohl is just as interested in a counter-proposal from the USA on the missile negotiations as was his rival candidate Vogel.

Since Chancellor Kohl has as it were obtained an electoral "empowerment" to accept the stationing of the new US weapons if absolutely necessary, he will be particularly interested in being able to plausibly claim that the Americans have left nothing untried should the talks in Geneva prove to be a failure.

Bonn will be interested to obtain the counter-proposal before 28 March since talks in Geneva will then be taking a long break and the critical date of no return, 31 December 1983, will be drawing closer and closer. Bonn feels that US negotiator, Paul Nitze, should be given powers to sound out the Soviets on every possible solution. The German government hopes that this demand on their part will be seen by Washington as a favour, since Washington now needs a "clear signal" from the Chancellor for its final decision.

Whereas Kohl's next high-level meeting with representatives of the West at the world economic summit in Williamsburg at the end of June has already been fixed, no decision has yet been taken on the much discussed trip to Moscow.

The Chancellor himself is ready to go; however, Bonn regards such spectacular trip as meaningless as long as things in Geneva remain stagnant.

Before such a move is made, Bonn is also interested in careful coordination with its European partners.

At the moment, relations to the Soviet Union are very restrained, particularly in France's case.

Bonn is more pushed for time in regard to completing its half-year period of EC presidency on a note of harmony.

Both Kohl and Genscher have promised to give Europe fresh momentum.

Now, however, the time has come to come to terms with European realities, the steady growth of unemployment top of the list in this respect.

The first steps have been agreed upon for the EEC summit meeting in Brussels this month — a drop in the ocean, Bonn admits.

Up until the next summit in Stuttgart at the beginning of June, it is hoped to at least further the protection of the European market against protectionism and solve the problems associated with EEC membership by Spain and Portugal.

If Bonn were able to seal the so-called Genscher-Colombo file on the path to the European Union during the summit in Stuttgart, it could look back quite satisfied with its European half-year.

Thomas Meyer

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 16 March 1983)



A royal visitor

King Hussein of Jordan is greeted by President Karl Carstens on his arrival in Bonn for talks on the Middle East.

(Photo: Bundesbildstelle)

IN THIS ISSUE

… next edition of THE GERMAN …UNE will appear on 10 April.

Wrangle over European exchange rates

The deutschemark is to be revalued upwards 5.5 per cent against the other European Monetary System currencies (all EEC members except Britain and Greece). The French franc is to be devalued 2.5 per cent against EMS. The compromise agreement was reached after difficult talks in Brussels.

The dramatic ups and downs of the European currency market show how difficult it is to maintain a European exchange-rate agreement.

This has put Germany in a difficult situation. The founders of the European Monetary System had the idea of creating a zone of stable currencies in Europe and protecting them against the American dollar.

Its aim was to prevent the strong fluctuations against the dollar which occurred when the Bretton Woods system of fixed exchange rates collapsed.

The many adjustments necessary since the European Monetary System was set up have clearly shown that stability has not materialised.

Exchange rates had to be readjusted six times within four years.

In the case of the seventh adjustment attempt, which has been discussed for months, there has been a breakdown of the consultation mechanism.

The various finance ministers of the EEC member states, who negotiated for two days in Brussels, had problems reaching agreement.

Most of the blame must be placed on the French, who have refused to accept the failure of their own economic policies.

The falling rate of the French franc during recent weeks has made it clear that France was the country which most needed adjustment of its currency.

However, France decided to turn the tables and blame the Germans for the problems within the monetary system.

The demands made by the French Finance Minister Delors in Brussels are pushing German goodwill too far, particularly considering that he is hoping to become Prime Minister.

There are only two possible ways of interpreting the intensity of these demands.

Either the French are hoping to force the Germans to upvalue the deutschemark further than economic data would justify.

Or they are seeking a pretext for justifying a French withdrawal from EMS.

The Germans must have an interest in keeping the French inside the system.

However, this interest may go wrong if it pushes its price too high.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 21 March 1983)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Sudden optimism that never-ending Madrid talks may have an ending after all

Ever since 11 November, 1980, the *Palacio de Congresos* in Madrid has been the scene of a frustrating yet necessary event known in its abbreviated form as the CSCE (short for Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe).

The frustration would appear to be making way for a change of mood.

As the 35 delegations to the second Helsinki review conference made their way, exhausted by the endless palaver, into their well-earned Christmas recess, they thought only of the well-earned Easter recess which was bound to follow.

The general forecast at this time was that this fatigued East-West forum could not survive in the current international political climate; but even worse still, it could not die.

The Americans made it clear to anybody with their eyes open that they only stayed on out of consideration for the Europeans.

1983 certainly hasn't seen any vast improvement in the overall international situation.

The danger of growing confrontation between the superpowers, should the Geneva talks fail, still hangs over the round of talks in Madrid like a big, black cloud.

The conference in Madrid has the function of examining the extent to which the Helsinki accords have been respected and to work out new proposals for more security and cooperation in Europe.

Nevertheless, there is a sudden feeling that the never-ending conference may indeed come to an end.

After 28 months of confrontation, playing political poker and, more recently, serious negotiations the neutral and non-aligned group of countries have come up with an offer of mediation which the authors say really is the "last one".

The attempt to bring together East and West after all, to build a reasonable stable bridge across the chasm of differences between the blocks, is not to be seen as a last-ditch despairing show of strength by mediators who are at the end of their tether.

The whole effort is a jointly though out affair.

Austria, Cyprus, Finland, Lichtenstein, San Marino, Sweden, Switzerland and Yugoslavia have over the past few weeks been gathering together in small work-groups to find out the points on which East and West can and cannot agree.

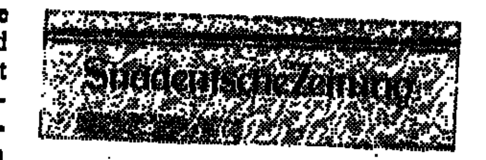
Diplomats from both sides were represented in these work-groups.

The result of these activities is a final document which has much more body than that obtained from the first review conference in Belgrade.

Whether this is adequate and balanced enough must be decided by the governments of the countries involved and will be accepted by their decision-making bodies.

The conference can only adopt resolutions on a unanimous basis.

As the head of the Swiss delegation, Edouard Brunner, explained, referring



to the text put together by the N + N group (abbreviation for the group of neutral and non-aligned states) there is no point in pursuing topics which will never be accepted by certain states.

If a country is convinced it has the right to jam radio broadcasts, there will be no way of persuading it to agree to a ban on such activities.

For this reason, the following demands made by the West have been dropped in the final document: the recognition of the right to strike in Communist countries, the guarantee of freedom of action for civil rights compaigners (the so-called Helsinki group), the ban on the expulsion of journalists.

The Western demand for a conference of experts on human rights, discussion of the union question (right to form a union and the right of a union to develop itself freely), religious liberty and the demand for unhindered access to foreign missions are just some of the demands included in the final document.

However, the main point of dispute during the 28 months of tough toing-and-froing has been the European disarmament conference supported by the Europeans and the Soviets.

The text of the mediation offer emphatically states that confidence-building measures are to apply to the whole of Europe.

This is a clear concession by the Soviets who initially wanted everything but a small borderline area excluded from the discussion.

The corresponding wording contains an additional reference to the adjacent sea areas and air spaces.

A footnote included at the explicit request of the Soviets points out that these adjacent areas include the oceans.

Does this mean that the demand by the East for a compensation for the incorporation of the whole of the European section of the Soviet Union, namely the incorporation of almost the whole Atlantic right up to the shores [...] USA, has re-emerged?

The neutral mediators asked East and West to take time to [...] their proposed paper thoroughly.

This means an intermission [...] diplomats in Madrid. The gover[...] will have to decide whether the [...] half full or half empty.

There have been definite ste[...] ward with regard to the question [...] mandate for the disarmament co[...] ce.

The essential elements put fo[...] by the French and German [...] ments, the fact that the conf[...] building measures must be milita[...] nificant, politically binding and [...] priately verifiable, have been in[...] in the text.

The possibility of bringing the [...] ing in Madrid to some kind of c[...] sion will be one of the most imp[...] topics to be discussed during [...] week's meeting of the European [...] cil in Brussels.

Bonn will refer to the proposal [...] group of neutral states as a "[...] initiative" which can serve as a "[...] for an agreement.

Providing the continuity of We[...] man CSCE policies is maintai[...] coalition negotiations, the Germ[...] see the glass to be half full.

Udo Be[...]

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 19 Ma[...])

Mrs Gandhi's three-year assignment

The summit on non-aligned states, in New Delhi failed to achieve complete agreement. But it was still generally successful.

Unfortunately, conference participants could not reach agreement on the venue for the next conference in three years. The most likely candidate, Iraq is still locked in war with its neighbour Iran.

The regime of the ayatollahs in Tehran is intent on "seeking the decision on the field of battle."

This particulation case was a clear documentation of the limits facing the scope for action by the conglomeration of the heads of state and government from 101 non-aligned countries, which represent over half of the world's population.

The non-aligned nations first met more than 20 years ago during a period in which the old colonialist empires crumbled and dissolved and the Cold War hung icily over the international scenario.

The non-aligned states were a kind of "third force" between the dominant ideological blocks.

At the time, they had no trouble adopting resolutions criticising the "superpowers" and "colonialism and imperialism."

However, it became increasingly difficult for these states to keep the peace among themselves.

Despite Vietnam and Afghanistan, the non-aligned states have waged more wars than the superpowers.

Their basic thesis that the reason behind most conflicts was imperialism and colonialism proved incorrect.

This non-aligned movement revealed itself to be unsuited as an instrument for world peace.

However, in New Delhi, this movement has re-emerged as a force in international politics, offering alternatives to the two major ideological blocks.

This is not so much a result of the impressive size of the multilayered group with its manifold internal contradictions but of the change of course pushed through by the head of the Indian government and conference president Indira Gandhi.

The host country to such conferences always has a particularly strong position, since it subsequently becomes spokesman for the group for three years.

What is more, conference resolutions can only be adopted unanimously, i.e. the lowest common denominator is essential.

This enhances the scope of influence for the host country.

The last spokesman, Fidel Castro, however, tried in Havana to lead the non-aligned movement onto the wrong track.

The thesis put forward by the Cuban leader that the Soviet Union is the "natural ally" of the movement only failed by the skin of its teeth on account of the objections raised by Tito.

If Castro had been successful, this would have jeopardised the very movement itself, the existence of which is based on the distance kept to *both* blocks.

Mrs Gandhi did her utmost to prevent such derailments during the conference held in New Delhi and to re-establish the credibility of the movement which had suffered due to its own "Cuban crisis."

She exceeded expectations in this respect as vouched for by the political section of the final conference paper.

The movement has re-adopted its equidistant stance towards Washington and Moscow.

The Soviets can thank their satellite states and not the movement as such for not being mentioned by name with regard to Afghanistan.

The Soviet Union has lost much of the support it once had in many [...] World countries.

The most important result of the [...] ference, however, is not just the [...] come of fundamental in-fighting [...] sues of foreign and international [...] cies.

Of greater importance is the m[...] ment of the movement's guiding [...] towards emphasis on economic [...] velopment policy aspects rather [...] focussing on moral appeals.

In her own speech, Indira G[...] concentrated on the dire situation [...] Third World, which is particula[...] versely affected by the economic [...] in industrialised countries.

The overall level of debt has [...] over the past three years, soa[...] about US$600 billion.

Since 1981, export revenues [...] dropped by approximately US$[...] lion.

Assistance from the West is [...] coming less and less and the pri[...] raw materials are plummeting dr[...] ly.

In the economic policy section [...] conference's final document, [...] Gandhi has managed to give pri[...] this crisis.

The unfortunately illusory app[...] the West and East to increase de[...]

Continued on page 3

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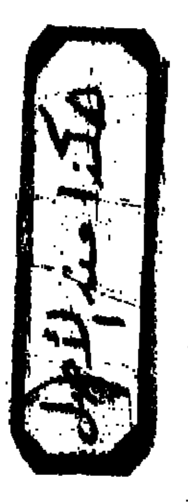
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HOME AFFAIRS

SPD problem: making changes without dumping the old faithfuls

[H]ans-Jochen Vogel, the newly elected SPD parliamentary leader, is [...]ng to reorganise the opposition.

[H]e has already decided to appoint [...]t deputy parliamentary leaders, [...]e more than before the election [...]er the outgoing leader, Herbert [...]ner.

[M]any MPs were not happy with the [...]anisation under Wehner. They said [...] the structure needed clarifying. Too [...]ch power resided in the hands of [...]e in charge of the day-to-day parliamentary business.

[E]ach of the new deputies will be re[...]nsible for one policy area, and each [...], in turn have a deputy.

[V]ogel is finding it hard to decide on [...]o to appoint. His problem is to main[...] continuity and at the same time in[...]duce changes.

[H]e does not want to perpetuate "in[...]ited positions", but he cannot simply [...]p party veterans, and the entire top [...]elon has been re-elected with the ex[...]tion of Wehner, who did not stand.

[I]t will soon become known whether [...] SPD in the Bundestag will accept [...]gel's re-organisation. In any event, [...] will never have a better chance to [...]plement his ideas than now, while [...] Social Democrats are still stunned [...] the election defeat.

[T]here seems to be little doubt that fi[...]nce will go to Hans Apel and foreign [...]licy to Horst Ehmke.

[A]pel gained a good starting position [...] being widely regarded as the head of [...] *Kanalarbeiter*, the SPD's right wing. [...] former head of this wing, Egon [...]nke, has lost political prestige.

[A]pel would like to lift this right wing [...]p to a higher plane by linking up [...] the socalled *Seeheimer Kreis*, a de[...]ng circle with which Hans-Jochen [...]el has close ties.

[J]ürgen Schmude, one of the men who [...]ed the SPD campaign platform, is [...]gel's preference for the domestic af[...]s sector, which includes education.

[S]ince Manfred Lahnstein decided not [...]eek any particular post within the [...]D parliamentary group, economic [...]irs is likely to go to Wolfgang Roth.

[T]he fact that Vogel intends to fall back on Hamburg's Mayor Klaus von Dohnanyi as a sort of extraparliamentary economic ideologue is a different matter.

Legal policy is likely to go to Herta Däubler-Gmelin if Vogel gets his way.

The new opposition leader is, however, still undecided who is to look after social affairs. Both Anke Fuchs and Heinz Westphal are in the running.

Social security pensions expert Eugen Glombig will also have to be given a post.

Environment is to go to Volker Hauff and women's affairs could go to either Anke Fuchs or Heide Simonis.

The top echelon of the Bundestag group will be rounded off by the parliamentary managers. Only one of the five active managers, Werner Zeitler, has said that he would no longer be available for this position.

The others (Gerhard Jahn, Jürgen Linde, Helga Timm and Carl Even) are likely to have no objection to continuing to draw a bit of extra pay.

Vogel probably intends to have a blend of tried and proven old hands and some new blood at the top of his parliamentary group. Among the new blood could be Dietrich Sperling and Gerhard Schröder.

So far, there is no evidence of any factionalism within the SPD parliamentary group.

Some insiders say that the SPD in the Bundestag has become more "intelligent" and that the ideologues are missing from it while the number of technocrats has increased.

Vogel is a strict taskmaster and it is unlikely that anybody in his parliamentary group will try to muddle through by marking time.

Vogel does not intend to concern himself with the party at large at this stage. But if his changes at the top of the parliamentary party prove their worth and if he succeeds Helmut Schmidt as deputy party chairman, he might consider taking on the job of repairing the party as well.

The SPD's head office in Bonn has been hit by the election defeat much harder than the Bundestag group.

The party head office will look into the reasons for the drop below 40 per cent of the pall.

It is self-evident that there will have to be changes at party headquarters although chairman Willy Brandt has never really been interested in the organisational weak spots of the party.

No remedy is therefore likely to come from him, though there can be no denying that he is still indispensable as an integrating factor.

The SPD brass is now enviously looking at CDU party headquarters, which Kurt Biedenkopf streamlined after that party's equally disastrous defeat in 1972.

The thinking process is slow in starting at SPD headquarters. In the few months before the latest Bundestag election, the party's opposition role was still seen as temporary.

But now the SPD will have to ponder why ties with small and medium businessmen have been neglected, why the close links that existed with the trade unions have dissipated, why the young members' branch has been allowed to become almost insignificant and why it was that the SPD worked fine internally while losing its appeal to the public.

The party's problems are probably partly due to its neglected media policy — a policy it did not rediscover until virtually all influence had been lost.

The election analysis which Peter Glotz is now working on and which he intends to present to the party soon will not be enough.

The Social Democrats will have to make the same effort they made in the campaign if they are to rise again to above the 40 per cent mark.

Sten Martenson

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 16 March 1983)

Continued from page 2

[...]t aid at the expense of arms spend[...] is backed up by a more down-to[...]h statement of fact that the North [...] the South are mutually interdepen[...]t and can only overcome the inter[...]onal crisis via joint efforts.

[A]s Mrs Gandhi pointed out during [...] final press conference: "The indus[...]ialised countries are just as dependent [...]us as we are on them."

[S]he underlined the fact that the deve[...]ping countries have precisely the mar[...]ts which could help industrialised [...]untries achieve the much yearned for [...]nomic upswing.

[S]he now has three years to push [...]ough this anti-confrontation ap[...]ach within the non-aligned move[...]nt and provide added impetus to the [...]gnating dialogue between North and [...]uth.

[I]f she is successful, she will have [...]e more for world peace than all of [...] predecessors.

Reinhart Häcker

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 15 March 1983)

A crucial time for the Free Democrats

The Free Democrats need to put their feet firmly back on the ground. Now they have been thrown out of the Schleswig-Holstein state assembly.

On the day of the general election, they were also thrown out of the Rhineland-Palatinate assembly.

Although the party fared better in the general election itself, where it won more than 5 per cent of the vote, it can't afford to sit back.

Constantly losing ground in the states and municipalities is no long-term formula even if the party does manage to just hold its own at a national level.

A party consisting of a head with very little below is likely to lose the head.

The FDP will have to make effort to get back into the State parliaments if it is to remain in the Bundestag. The stability it needs must come from the bottom and not from the top.

The point is that the political balance that makes the FDP appear indispensable in Bonn will not necessarily always apply.

State election disasters in Hesse and Hamburg immediately after the switch of coalition partners in Bonn last year could not be considered reliable indicators for the FDP.

Now, six months later, it is clear that the party is in trouble.

The Baden-Württemberg FDP seems to have stood its ground better than the other state party organisations. Results in the general election were good. But then, there were no disputes over personalities in Baden-Württemberg.

In Berlin, the Free Democrats are about to reorientate themselves. But whether and to what extent this will strengthen the party remains to be seen.

In Schleswig-Holstein, the FDP has to begin virtually from scratch. In Hamburg and Rhineland-Palatinate, it has a long and thorny road ahead.

In North Rhine-Westphalia it, is about to get a new leadership, which must also spell a new policy trend.

There is likely to be an election before the end of the year, when the FDP is likely to opt for a coalition with the SPD. In Hesse, on the other hand, the FDP will favour the CDU as a coalition partner in its campaign for the election likely to be held in September.

The question is, will the Hesse FDP manage to return to the State after being voted out last September?

The Hesse election is likely to be an important test It will provide indications as to the leadership qualities of the new chairman of the Hesse FDP, the condition of his party and the national FDP's favour with the public six months after the general election.

As important as it might be for the FDP to strengthen its position in the states and municipalities by pursuing a more populist policy, it will always need a constant supply of oxygen from Bonn.

The FDP's performance in Hesse later this year will also depend on what Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Wolfgang Mischnick achieve in their coalition talks with the CDU/CSU in Bonn.

Immediately after the national election earlier this month, Ralf Dahrendorf, the chairman of the liberal Friedrich Naumann Foundation, spoke of the need for a "far-reaching renewal."

Many of those who had just successfully weathered the general election might have considered it presumptuous of Dahrendorf, a professor living in London, to tell them what they must do.

Yet Dahrendorf is certainly right: an FDP that restricts itself to being a good and indeed an accommodating coalition partner can neither satisfy its party's grassroots nor prove its raison d'etre as a liberal party.

The FDP campaign platform stressed the necessity for continuity in the nation's foreign policy and strict adherence to the principles of free enterprise.

That earned the party votes but these vote did not primarily come from the old social-liberal camp; they came from the camp of those who wanted the new coalition.

Impressive though Genscher's and Lambsdorff's programme might be, it will not be enough to ensure the FDP's survival in the long run.

Such elements as a dependable and flexible foreign policy and an economic policy geared to small and medium businessmen and promoting initiative are certainly important, but they do not make the FDP unique.

The election outcomes in Rhineland-Palatinate and Schleswig-Holstein have made it clear that the FDP voters are fickle. When the party is not primarily needed as a coalition partner, its vote drops off sharply.

Few voters in these two elections cast their ballot for the FDP for its own sake.

The party's long-term asset is a clearly defined liberal policy. This means developing new ideas, seizing on timely issues and engaging in major debates on themes best sumed up as "state and citizens." Liberal policy should always contain an element of salutary unrest.

It can therefore also not be the aim of the FDP leadership to establish conservative-liberal governments in as many states as possible. It certainly did not follow this principle in the previous coalition.

For the rest, there is much room for organisational improvements in the party's local and state chapters. But the real impulses must come from the party programme.

Heinz Murmann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 16 March 1983)

■ POLITICS

CDU wins bigger majority in Schleswig-Holstein

Voters in Schleswig-Holstein have returned the CDU to power in Kiel with an increased majority. The SPD remains in opposition. The FDP and the Greens both polled below the mandatory five per cent and will not be represented.

The minority SSW party, which represents a Danish ethnic minority in what is Germany's northern most *Land*, will again have one member of parliament. It is excluded from the five per cent provision.

The CDU increased its vote from 48.3 per cent in the 1979 election to 49 per cent. It will have 39 representative instead of 37.

The SPD's share of the poll dropped two per cent, from 43.7 to 41.7, but it will have 34 representatives compared with 31 in the old assembly.

In returning only members of the two main parties, (excluding the SSW Schleswig-Holstein is therefore following the trend in Bavaria, North Rhine-Westphalia and Rhineland-Palatinate.

Prime Minister Uwe Barschel, 38, has every reason to be pleased with himself. A mere six months after assuming office as a somewhat colourless successor to Gerhard Stoltenberg, (now Federal Finance Minister) he now has a popular mandate to shape Schleswig-Holstein's policies for the next four years.

Barschel's success was no doubt partly due to the almost irresistible national trend towards the CDU.

But it exceeded the conservatives' expectations because the general mood in Schleswig-Holstein was that, after decades of CDU rule, the time had come for a change.

Stoltenberg's majority in the last assembly had shrunk to one. Small wonder the Social Democrats had hoped to the very end to carry the state.

The SPD leader, Björn Engholm thus had a pretty good starting position, and contrary to views in other states, the pronounced leftist Schleswig-Holstein SPD has always managed to come up with fairly good election results.

Engholm, a former Bonn Education Minister, was also bolstered by the fact that he conducted a pronounced populist campaign for this election, which paid off in the end in the form of gains for his party.

He knew that he could fall back on the FDP should he need that party to gain a majority in the assembly. He also cleverly championed some Green issues in the campaign.

But perhaps he was a bit too successful in taking votes away from the Greens because his defeat was sealed when the Greens failed to take the five per cent hurdle.

Everyone agreed that Engholm would only be able to form a government if some Green MPs, were elected.

In any event, Engholm managed to recapture SPD votes that had shifted to the Greens and reversed the trend that became obvious with the Bundestag election by driving the Greens out of the assembly.

This has naturally strengthened his position in the Schleswig-Holstein SPD and is bound to help his work as leader of the opposition.

With his newly gained authority, Engholm will now have to help rejuvenate the SPD on a national scale.

It surprised nobody that the voters chose to keep the FDP out.

The Free Democrats found themselves in a cleft stick because they had had to campaign for a coalition with the conservatives in the Bundestag election while campaigning for an alliance with the Social Democrats in Schleswig-Holstein.

This naturally confused the voters. This was reflected in the outcome.

Uwe Ronneburger, the leader of the Schleswig-Holstein FDP, was forced to fight a two-front war from the very beginning. In any event, a last-minute about-face in Schleswig-Holstein would hardly have changed the result.

Perhaps the FDP in Bonn is secretly delighted that the voters clearly rejected an SPD-FDP coalition in Schleswig-Holstein.

But the question still remains: how to prevent being voted out of one State assembly after another?

Who rules the Federal States

March 1983

Seats in Bundesrat

Bremen SPD 3 · Schleswig-Holstein CDU 4 · Lower Saxony CDU 5 · Rhineland-Palatinate CDU 4 · Baden-Württemberg CDU 5 · Bavaria CSU 5 · The Saar CDU/FDP 3 · Hesse SPD 4 · North Rhine-Westphalia SPD 5 · Hamburg SPD 3

West Berlin CDU (Four representatives, none have full voting rights)

G 4236

The FDP is rapidly approaching the point where it will be regarded as a national party only — a party needed in the Bundestag to provide the necessary majorities but redundant in the States.

And, who knows, one day it could suffer the same defeat in Bonn that Ronneburger suffered in Kiel.

The Greens had a tough time in Schleswig-Holstein from the very beginning. They were divided for a long time and it was not until the last moment that the various alternative groupings opted for a common ticket for the state election. And even that was preceded by a great deal of bickering.

Besides, the Greens had a hard time developing their own environmentalist image in the face of a pronounced ecologically minded SPD in Schleswig-Holstein.

Many potential Green voters might also have had second thoughts after the outcome of the Bundestag election where the Greens had hoped to be instrumental in toppling the Kohl government.

There are those who must have said to themselves that the best course of action was to strengthen the SPD as a counterbalance to the conservatives.

It was fear of a CDU state that drove them into the social democratic fold.

Has the SPD process of siphoning off Green votes already begun?

Joachim Worthmann

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 14 March 1983)

Mainz Christian Democrat gamble pays off

The CDU has been returned in Rhineland-Palatinate with an absolute majority — 51.9 per cent. And the FDP has been thrown out after 32 years.

So the gamble of State Prime Minister, Bernhard Vogel in holding the poll the same day as the general election has paid off.

The Greens polled better than the FDP, but only by one per cent, and their 3.5 per cent was well below the crucial five per cent hurdle.

Ironically, it was a state FDP that backed the coalition the voters confirmed for Bonn that was ousted in Rhineland-Palatinate.

Two years ago, the Rhineland-Palatinate Free Democrats met in Mainz with Prime Minister Vogel for coalition talks that continued until national party leader Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who at that time was allied with the SPD, pulled the emergency brake.

Ever since the former chairman of the Rhineland-Palatinate FDP, Hans-Otto Scholl, resigned his party post following a dispute with the manager of the National Federation of the Pharmaceutical Industry, the FDP played an active opposition role in Mainz though without much effect on the electorate. Scholl's successor Hans-Gunther Heinz was not the man to impart to impart new impulses to his party.

Meanwhile, Prime Minister Vogel has announced that he is exploring ways and means of arriving at "a sensible cooperation with the FDP" in order to sweeten the pill for the defeated party. There is some talk of a state secretary post for an FDP man.

Vogel's SPD challenger Hugo Brandt bore his election defeat with equanimity.

Like chancellorship candidate Hans-Jochen Vogel, Brandt — a highly regarded domestic policy maker — was unable to stop CDU advances despite the high election turnout (close to 90 per cent) that usually favours the SPD.

Two years ago, when Klaus von Dohnanyi was sent to Hamburg by his party, Brandt took over Dohnanyi's job unprepared.

The SPD owes it to his work that the defeat in Rhineland-Palatinate was less shattering than in the Bundestag election.

In the national election, the SPD lost 4.7 per cent compared with only 2.7 per cent in Rhineland-Palatinate.

With the 39.6 per cent of the vote captured by Brandt he was able to maintain the position the SPD has held in that state for 20 years if one disregards Klaus von Dohnanyi's short-lived but remarkable success.

Heiner Schwarz

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 13 March 1983)

Election off[...] by Hesse SPD premi[...]

Allgemeine Zeit[...]

Holger Börner (SPD), th[...] Prime Minister, has offer[...] solve the state assembly and g[...] hustings.

He has made the offer becau[...] impact of the SPD performan[...] general election. In the *Land* [...] the CDU captured 17 of the [...] tuencies.

But the CDU is not likely to [...] Börner's proposal because he [...] election on September 25. Th[...] leader, Walter Wallmann wa[...] election as early as possible so [...] take advantage of the natio[...] swing to the conservatives th[...] Helmut Kohl at the Chancellery.

Dissolution requires an abso[...] jority. Since neither of the main [...] has that, neither can alone brin[...] a dissolution.

If the election were in May o[...] Wallmann would stand a good [...] of riding on the trend.

In the Hesse state election on [...] tember 1982, the then CDU ca[...] Alfred Dregger foundered only [...] sudden wave of sympathy with [...] Schmidt after he had been o[...] Bonn.

The Greens are also unlikely [...] port Börner in his decision to [...] the assembly.

They helped the SPD pass an [...] tant budgetary law, but have [...] clear that their "selective coop[...] with the Social Democrats" was [...]

They don't want to risk another [...] election so soon.

The further debate on the bu[...] therefore likely to become a [...] test case. The question is: wi[...] Greens try to delay the dissolu[...] being accommodating on the [...] issue or will they uphold their [...] mands?

If the draft budget fails in the [...] bly early new elections could b[...] necessary and the CDU intends [...] this card when the time comes.

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 9 Mar[...])

PEOPLE

Left-wing Green MP 'finds his political home'



[E]ight years ago, the last time I spoke with Otto Schily, he still described [hi]mself as a "liberal communist", has[ten]ing to add: "But, of course, there is [no] such thing as a liberal communist."

That was in a Stuttgart hotel when [Ott]o Schily was defending Gudrun [En]sslin in the trial in Stammheim, near [St]uttgart, of the hard core of the Red [Ar]my Faction (RAF) terrorist group.

Since the general election this month, [Sc]hily, a Berlin lawyer, has been one of [th]e 27 Green Bundestag MPs, elected [by] 6.2 per cent of the second votes that [we]nt to the Green ticket in the Düssel[do]rf South constituency. (In Bundestag [el]ections voters have two ballots, one [fo]r a local candidate, one for a party [tic]ket.)

Schily is convinced that he has at last [fo]und his political home because, as a [li]beral committed to the rule of law, he [co]uld hardly be a communist. And he [di]d not want to become a Social De[m]ocrat because, as he puts it, the [c]hasm between social democratic [ide]ology and reality, especially in the [W]est Berlin SPD with its scandals" was [un]bridgeable.

What makes a successful trial lawyer [wh]o is interested in literature and the [ar]ts so far as they relate to politics join [the] Greens of all political groupings? Is [it] disappointment over the chasm he [me]ntioned between ideology and reality [no]t only in the political parties but in [th]e Federal Republic of Germany as a [st]ate?

Schily's life has been full of disap[po]intments; and nobody who is famil[ia]r with his professional trials and tri[bu]lations in the past decade would be [su]rprised about his subscribing to prot[es]t as a political principle.

But he rejects any such idea, saying [th]at his first political experience does [no]t go back to the Mahlr trial in Berlin [an]d the Stammheim Red Army Faction [tri]als where zealous prosecutors labelled him a secret accomplice of the terro[ris]ts, which he wasn't. It actually goes [ba]ck to his childhood.

In 1941, when he had only just turned [ni]ne, he had his first brush with Hitler's [Ge]stapo. They searched his parents' [ho]me in Bochum and confiscated some [bo]oks.

Schily's parents were anthroposo[ph]ists followers of the spiritualistic doc[tri]nes of Rudolf Steiner who lived from [18]61—1925).

To the Nazis this was tantamount to [be]ing dissidents whose ideas could not [be] tolerated.

It was that experience that formed [hi]m as a child, as did his parents' *wel[tan]schauung* — even though he doesn't [co]mpletely share it. But he attributes his [int]erest in the educational ideas of Ru[do]lf Steiner and his interest in the eco[no]my to his parents.

Schily still vividly remembers the late [19]60s in Berlin when, having already [le]ft university, he had endless discus[si]ons with Rudi Dutschke and other [me]mbers of the student protest move[me]nt about their aims.

"They made mock of my ecological interest, calling me a 'kohlrabi apostle' because I was in favour of biological farming and against nuclear missiles," says Schily.

Later, right wing lawyers ridiculed him because he was a left winger but did not dress like one: he has always made a point of being dressed as correctly as possible and always wears a tie except during leisure time.

He usually wears a waistcoat and his clothing generally is understated. His manners are excellent, his speech is cultured and is instantly obvious that Schily comes from an upper middle class home.

One of his ancestors was the poet and composer Peter Cornelius (1824—1874) of whom a major German encyclopedia says that his delicate poetry and music could only develop in opposition to the mighty influence of Liszt and Wagner.

The political figures that formed Schily while he was still a law student were Gustav Heinemann, Thomas Dehler and Adolf Arndt.

All three were born non-conformists and champions of the individual's rights versus the state. They were also champions of the minority against the majority.

Otto Schily's passionate fight for his clients in the terrorist trials clearly stems from this source.

He never identified himself with the crimes committed by the RAF nor did he identify himself with the group's aims.

Even now, he asks ponderingly: "Would Horst Mahler's life have taken the course it did had he not been expelled from the SPD because of deviation to the left?"

He draws attention to the fact that Gudrun Ensslin campaigned for Willy Brandt in the 1960s.

His memory of the mud-slinging campaign against him by the judiciary and the tightist press seems to have faded to the point where he is unable to pinpoint even those dates that played an important role in his life.

It is as if it no longer mattered — not even the fact that the public prosecutor's office accused him of having smuggled Ensslin's message out of prison and that he was under investigation for years before the case against him was finally dropped.

The investigation went on despite the fact that it was known from the very beginning that two women police officers could have smuggled the message out of prison because they had been alone with the prisoner and had every opportunity.

Instead, the two women were made witnesses for the prosecution and were therefore no longer treated as suspects.

The Katharina Hammerschmidt case nearly turned into a very personal tragedy for Schily. Hammerschmidt, at the time a 25-year-old univerity student alleged (it was never proved) to have belonged to the Baader-Meinhof group, was put on the police wanted list. She managed to escape abroad.

It was there that she learned of the stepped up terrorist activities in Germany, of killed police officers and of victims of bombing attacks.

Schily assisted her in turning herself in to the German authorities in 1972, hoping that she would be tried without being remanded in custody.

But the young woman was arrested and while in custody she developed a malignant tumour that was never diagnosed because the prison doctors prevented the necessary medical examination with special equipment, and ignoring the seriousness of her condition.



Otto Schily . . . lots of disappointments. (Photo: Sven Simon)

The examination did not take place until Schily filed charges of attempted murder against the doctors.

When she was finally examined, it turned out that the tumour had grown to the size of a child's head and that the cancer cells had spread throughout her body. After one-and-a-half years in custody, Katharina Hammerschidt was released. She died in June 1975.

In the end, it was not the doctors who found themselves in the dock but Schily — for allegedly having slandered them. He was acquitted.

He still partly blames himself for his client's death because it was he who supported her decision to turn herself in.

As one of the three spokesmen for

Continued on page 6

Past catches up with a former Brownshirt

Werner Vogel, 76, would have succeeded Herbert Wehner as *Alterspräsident* of the Bundestag. But his Nazi past caught up with him.

Vogel, elected on the Green ticket in the general election this month, was a member of the notorious Brownshirts, the SA, in the 1930s.

The *Alterspräsident* or president because of age, is the man who calls the Bundestag to order and presides until it elects a speaker.

Vogel's speech, already drafted, was intended to "get under the skin of the established parties."

It would also have explained why the Greens — originally an extraparliamentary opposition — decided to try for the Bundestag. It would have outlined their demands.

Vogel foundered on his past as a member of the Nazi Party and an SA *Sturmführer* for which the youthfully zealous and idealistic Greens with their grassroots democracy have no understanding. Other parties have been much more lenient towards their members with a Nazi past.

It is this very leniency that the Greens whose average age is 25, have always attacked. They feel they have a right to censure even someone who was no more than a *Mitläufer* (nominal party member) during the Hitler era. And Vogel says that this is exactly what he was.

Paradoxical though it might sound, he ist thus a victim of the moral code he helped draft.

Vogel was born in 1907 in Offenbach, the son of an upper middle class family. He studied law.



Werner Vogel . . . an historic irony. (Photo: dpa)

As a student, he joined the duelling *Hasso Nassovia* fraternity and became a member of the *Stahlhelm* movement and the SA. In 1938, he became an official at the Interior Ministry in Berlin, a member of the Nazi Party and an SA *Sturmführer*.

He did not protest against the concentration camps and the Nazi terror in general. All he did was on one occasion, in 1941, to get up and leave when an SS officer sitting at his table boasted with the murder of 12,000 Russian Jews.

In an act of self-purification, the Greens forced Vogel to relingquish his mandate, saying that they would otherwise lose credibility vis-a-vis the "ruling caste" that has "made itself comfortable in its patchwork democracy" (Vogel).

The people at the head of the North Rhine-Westphalia Greens, which Vogel joined in 1978, knew about his past. But they saw no need to tell the grassroots or to prevent him from standing for parliament.

As it happened, the delegates to the Green congress who put Vogel at the top of the North Rhine-Westphalia ticket. They were unable to question him on his past because he was away on a Mediterranean cruise at the time.

The young Greens knew that Vogel was a dyed-in-the-wool conservative. Yet they trusted him because of his commitment to the extraparliamentary opposition.

The retired former senior official of the North Rhine-Westphalia Interior Ministry — Lottery and Aliens Department — had for 15 Years been the chairman of the Public Relations Committee of the Rhineland Church.

He worked actively on behalf of juvenile delinquents in prison and was an officially appointed legal aid assistant

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■ FINANCE

Indicators are that the only way is upwards

Süddeutsche Zeitung

All the indicators point to a recovery in the German economy. The signs are so good that if it does not get to its feet now, it must in a worse condition than the most pessimistic suspected.

The general election, which sent back the conservatives to Bonn, was what business wanted.

It might well be true that psychology plays a major role in economic ups and downs. But what matters even more is facts and figures.

And the signs are anything but bad: the price war within the Opec cartel has given the oil-importing nations an economic booster programme free of charge; OECD pundits have amended their anticipated growth figures upward, from 1.5 to three per cent, though these are projections that might not be realised.

The fact is that nobody can doubt that a 15 per cent price reduction from crude must improve the current account positions of many industrial and developing countries and that it must help curb inflation.

Successes in fighting inflation and an improved balance of payments have already made for better framework conditions for the German economy.

The Bundesbank can now afford to let the money supply grow to the upper margin of its target. Interest rates are declining, and it is only a matter of days before the yield of fixed interest securities will be down to seven per cent.

There is no risk element in the current account position. On the contrary: it is already obvious that the balance of trade this year will show a record surplus of DM55bn and that the current account will be some DM15bn in the black.

But all this should be interpreted with a bit of caution. The figures should not be seen as indicators of skyrocketing demand from abroad. The anticipated trade surpluses are more a reflection of improved terms of trade than of a startling growth in the volume of exports and hence more jobs.

The indicators show no sign of an export boom; but then, it would be silly to expect such a boom considering that none of our major trading partners are back on their feet economically.

The most important international factor for the German economy will be the development in the United States.

The German success in fighting inflation, which is now down to 3.7 per cent with a continuing downward trend, will give the Bundesbank more leeway in reducing interest rates still further. What this boils down to is that Bonn and the Bundesbank will no longer be as heavily affected by America's budgetary deficit and the resulting movements on the American interest rate front. But this does not mean that we can totally ignore American interest rates.

The Americans themselves are full of confidence and optimism regarding their economic prospects. Rising consumer spending and dwindling inventories have created a "ready for take-off" euphoria which is now shared even by President Reagan's usually sceptical adviser, Martin Feldstein.

Early American indicators show that real growth could hit four per cent; but then, American indicators are notoriously fickle.

German economic data are usually *somewhat less capricious*. But even in this country there is little point in trying to divine growth figures to a fraction after the decimal point.

What matters is the overall picture and that has clearly improved.

Business expects sales to rise again so inventories are being stocked up. The savings quota is down from more than 14 to less than 13 per cent, partially making up for the consumption reticence resulting from declining real incomes. Falling interest rates are making investments that had been postponed due to the high cost of money feasible once more.

Opinion surveys confirm this rough picture, showing an improved mood everywhere: The electrical industry expects exports to improve, mechanical engineering speaks of a "waning recession", the order books of commercial vehicle makers are still below normal but the trend points upwards. And the auto industry is so optimistic as to anticipate no further production cuts.

The construction industry is a special case. Here, demand and production growth have been far above average. But this was one of the worst hit branches of industry, so it still has a long way to go before getting back to normal.

The use of construction machinery capacity is now only 60 per cent (50 per cent before the government programme to boost this branch of industry) and orders are still only enough to provide work for two-and-a-half months.

Statements made by the various business associations are open to interpretation. On the one hand, there is a clear attempt to dwell on good news — for both political and psychological reasons. On the other hand, they cannot be too optimistic because collective bargaining is in full swing.

There is a blend of optimism and pessimism coming from business quarters.

There is, of course, no reason to become too euphoric since business is only just trying to take its first cautious steps upward.

As a result, everybody — the government, the Bundesbank, business associations and the trade unions — is cautious when it comes to forecasts.

There are, however, indicators that can be taken as reliable. The generally anticipated January decline in orders (because of the December rush to benefit from government investment subsidies) did not materialise. The influx of orders rose by a real six per cent (seasonally adjusted) from December to January.

The rise in orders for capital goods — up ten per cent — could still be interpreted as "stragglers" after the end of the year deadline for the government subsidy; but this interpretation cannot apply to the rising demand for consumer goods. Here, too, the real growth was five per cent. This is a considerable figure considering the slack demand throughout last year.

The figures for domestic demand (up four per cent) and foreign demand (up 8.5 per cent) are at odds with the view of many businessmen that the recovery will come from the domestic business while foreign trade will remain more or less unchanged.

Production rose four per cent from December to January. Should this trend continue in the next few months, the development would be more positive than anybody expects today.

Unfortunately, the job market does not reflect this generally positive trend. Unemployment will be with us for a long time even if business picks up.

The wrong moves that were made on the job market cannot be covered up by a new growth period.

For a number of reasons, the job market reacts very late to the general state of the economy. It is therefore most unlikely that un employment statistics in the months to come will be such as to sound the all clear.

To make matters worse, experts estimate that at least half the jobless in our statistics did not become unemployed for economic but for structural reasons. As a result, even if production rises this will not automatically result in a wave of hiring.

There are more than one million jobs that are not vacant but non-existent at the moment. These jobs are still to be created once it is certain that the economy has embarked on a stable growth course.

Hans D. Barbier

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 12 March 1983)

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the Green Bundestag group, Schily does not want to restrict himself to judiciary policy although there is much worth doing in that field and he could find some common ground with the SPD and the FDP.

Both these parties want to at least defuse the socalled contact bar law (that bars some prisoners from contact with the outside world).

Like SPD and FDP, Schily also wants to prevent the CSU from introducing new criminal laws on demonstrations that would take the country back to the Kaiser era.

Regarding the much talked about issue of "violence", Schily says that the Greens reject this and that they have no intention of using anything but peaceful means to achieve their objectives.

"This also applies to our resistance against the decision to station the new generation of American missiles in Germany."

Only the followers of the *Alternative Listen* (alternative tickets) still seem to favour violent demonstrations.

Schily denies that the stablished parties have any reason whatsoever to keep the Greens under a cloud of suspicion.

"It is simply grotesque that parties which are themselves playing with toys that could spell the end of the world should be accusing us of violence," says Schily, every inch the lawyer.

Regarding the Greens' internal dispute over whether they should observe the secrecy requirement in connection with their committee work — foreign affairs, defence — Schily says that he ... "correct behaviour."

He does, however, stress that the ... recy required of MPs is only ... if the ministries concerned stop ... overboard in classifying everything ...

As to the rotation principle ... Greens (whereby half-way through ... four-year term the present MPs ... step down in favour of other ... Schily has a diplomatic answer ... long as the party upholds this ... will respect it. But only day-to-day ... liamentary work will show whether ... tation is wise."

Asked what he and his Green ... want to achieve in the Bundestag ... ly smiled, saying: "A gentle republic ..."

Hans Sch...

(Die Zeit, 18 M...)

Investment grows

1982 Internal orders for capital goods (machinery etc)

Feb 12 % Mar 2 Apr 16 May 4 Jun 4 Jul 6 Aug 2 Sep 14 Oct 10

Change compared to previous month in %

Take the lead again, America urges

America must again take over ... economic leader of the Western ... says Otto Wolff von Amerongen ... man of the German chamber of commerce and industry.

He told members of the ... Club Rhein-Ruhr that America ... take over again despite the growing interdependence between the industrialised nations and despite America's declining influence.

Referring to the coming debate ... US Congress on the extension ... ble redrafting of the 1979 Export Administration Act, Wolff von Amerongen suggested that the German ... community would welcome ... sions that would take the security interests of the West into account ... imposing selective trade restrictions ... foreign policy reasons.

"In the interest of the Atlantic alliance, industrial cooperation should ... unaffected by such political measures ..."

He conceded that the EEC ... little economic leadership and ... plored the Community's protectionist trends.

But America's protectionist ... had been much greater for some ... and American industry was using ... and more often.

Whether the US Administration ... to admit it or not, it has been ... American business interests.

The European-American ... cords demonstrated the extent to ... trade relations could be politicised ...

Hans-J. M...

(Die Welt, 11 M...)

BUSINESS

Ground laid for wholesale denationalisation drive

...nationalisation is part of the government's economic programme. ... question is whether there will be a ... sale of federal assets.

...ere are signs that say yes. The an... economic report published after ... change of government in Bonn has ... red the ground for sweeping pri... ...tion drive.

...e report has set guidelines for the ... economic, fiscal and social poli... ...at provide for a withdrawal of the ... from its present enterprise involve... ..., enabling it to concentrate entirely ... governing.

...blic sector services are to be turned ... to private enterprise whenever bu... ... is more capable of handling ... The report also calls for a privati... ...n of public assets in general if this ... not have a detrimental effect on ... interests.

...onn Economic Affairs Minister ... Lambsdorff (FDP) said: "We ... uld carefully review federal indus... ... assets to establish whether they are ... olutely necessary in the interest of ... state. I am sure that this is not so in ... y cases."

...he minister hopes that privatisation ... the public service sector will help ... petition and efficiency.

Among the sectors most likely to be ... ned over to private business is the ... intenance of military equipment and ... al railway maintenance.

Count Lambsdorff would also like to ... pen the discussion about the postal ... communications monopoly.

Continued from page 5

...sylum seekers — a job he did not ... for the money, he says, because the ... he received was not even enough to ... r expenses.

...e joined the Greens in order to for... ...his past, Vogel says. It was some... ... akin to an adventure and it was ... e that the past caught up with him.

...here is almost a certain historic ... e in the fact that Willy Brandt, who ... to flee abroad from the Nazis, will ... be the *Alterspräsident* of the Bun...tag.

Bernd Kleffner

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 20 March 1983)

His ideas are the same as the intentions of Bonn Minister of Post and Telecommunications Christian Schwarz-Schilling (CDU).

Among other ideas, Schwarz-Schilling want to involve private enterprise in providing cable TV.

Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg, who controls most federal assets, ordered the sale of most no longer needed federally owned housing shortly after he came to office.

Ever since, federal officials have been busy reviewing the need for each of the 50,000 federally owned housing units.

Privatisation has long been a hotly contested subject among politicians, business associations and the trade unions. CDU/CSU and the FDP have been in favour of privatising from the very beginning, backed by business associations. Economic experts also seem to favour the move.

The taxpayers association has presented a long list of government activities that could be turned over to private enterprise. The list of government activities that could be turned over to private enterprise. The list ranges from old people's homes to zoos. It includes part of the railway system, metropolitan transport, television, universities, schools, hospitals and kindergartens.

No sooner were the election results out than the association of junior business executives and the taxpayers association again drew attention to this privatisation potential.

Actually, the economic order in this country favours such moves. Social market economy, the principle on which this country's economy rests, assigns most business activities to the private sector.

It is in keeping with the social market economy theory that the private sector is more suited for business than the state.

Moreover, the state could save a great deal of money by withdrawing from business.

Private enterprise would reduce operating costs and turn state enterprises that now lose money into flourishing businesses.

One of the shining examples mentioned in this connection is the Cologne abattoir which became a limited company in 1973 and has been going from strength to strength ever since.

Financial misery

Federal, State and local government (in DM billion)

Paid out 252 Paid in 239 Deficit −13 1972

395 364 Deficit −31 1977

565 490 Deficit −75 1982 (estimate)

Debt (DM billion) 1972 156 1977 328 1982 (Estimate) 620

Privatisation advocates also stress that selling these state enterprises will inject money into badly strained public sector coffers.

The SPD wasted no time describing these plans as an "attack on the social state."

The social democrats say that this would leave the citizen "defenceless against exploitation."

The trade unions also oppose privatisation. They fear that working conditions in privatised sectors will deteriorate and that prices charged to the citizen will rise if the plans are realised.

Many municipalities have already privatised their service industries for cost reasons. But the experiences so far are unclear.

Some studies list many positive aspects while others point to failure with the citizen having to pay more for services than before.

There have also been some doubts as to the dependability of private companies. This applies primarily to garbage removal companies that promise to remove toxic waste at a reasonable price but actually just dump it casually.

Opponents of privatisation also point out that private business will only be interested in taking over the more lucrative of state enterprises.

As they put it, private business wants to "pick the plums out of the pudding and leave the rest to the public sector." As a result, they argue, privatisation will not reduce demands on public money.

Lambsdorff streses that Bonn cannot "play a solo part in the public sector concert when it comes to privatisation."

Bonn had a direct on indirect stake in about 1,000 companies and special assets amounting to a total of DM7bn.

Among the enterprises wholly or partly owned by Bonn are: Veba, Salzgitter, Vereinigte Aluminium-Werke, Saarbergwerke, VW, Lufthansa, Deutsche Pfandbriefanstalt (a lending institution), Flughafen Köln/Bonn GmbH (Cologne airport), the Rhein-Main-Donau AG and the Hotel AG.

But the number of such enterprises that the states and municipalities could sell to the private sector is very much larger, says Lambsdorff.

For the moment, however, he just want to think about what to do. He has conceded that any privatisation plans "will have to take into account the justified interests of those now employed in the public sector — about four million people."

An Economic Affairs Ministry press officer has said that no specific steps towards privatisation are being taken. Similar statements were released by the Finance Ministry which stressed that no minister will take any firm steps before the new cabinet has been formed.

This evidently excludes projects that have already begun.

Although the benefits to be derived from privatising public sector enterprises are still controversial, the very discussion of such projects has already borne fruit.

In Cologne, for instance, there was a tug-of-war extending over many years over whether garbage removal should be privatised or whether it should be done by the city.

City administrators suddenly came up with amazingly many bright ideas on how to achieve the greatest possible cost efficiency in removing the garbage — ideas that would never have materialised without the threat of private competition, experts say.

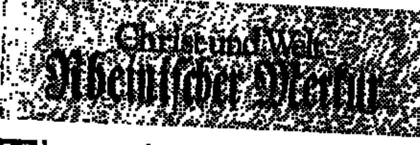
Wolfgang Koch

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 12 March 1983)



■ PARTNERSHIP

Second Brandt report 'has little essentially new'



The second Brandt report on world poverty was issued with lots of ballyhoo, but this follow-up to the original, which was issued three years ago, offers nothing essentially new.

It is said to be an "emergency programme", but it neither opens up new lines of discussion nor gives practical suggestions on solving existing problems.

The huge increase in development aid is still recommended as a remedy for the serious problems facing many countries in the Third World.

As in the first report, *Common Crisis* fails to make it clear that vast foreign support is not enough to remove barriers to development within the countries themselves.

In defiance of all that experience has taught us, the report ignores the fact that in many cases the present extent of aid in fact led to greater damage than benefits.

It has hardly been able to cater for the most important basic needs of the poorest of the poor.

The "independent" North-South Commission, which comprises 20 high-ranking personalities from North and South, is led by Willy Brandt.

The idea to form the Commission can be traced back to a suggestion made by the former President of the World Bank, Robert McNamara.

Unfortunately, one great weakness of the Commission, which was then set up in 1977, is that neither the East Bloc nor China are represented.

The first report triggered off some useful discussion on development policies and their meaningfulness. But it has now been confirmed that the direct effect of the report was limited.

The chairman of the West German Bundestag Committee on Economic Cooperation, Uwe Holtz (SPD) says "the report was not able to bring about the expected stimuli for a closer cooperation between all the nations of the world in the interests of guaranteeing all our futures. "None of its proposals for long-term reforms of the international economic order have been put into practice. The bulk of its emergency programme remains unfinished."

This second report focusses on international monetary and financial questions.

It confirms that during the three years since the first report was published there have been "growing economic difficulties for the industrialised countries and many developing countries have been pushed to the brink of ruin".

The possibility is voiced that "1983 will see the international economic crisis turn into a proper depression, with mass unemployment in the countries of the North and the danger of economic collapse in parts of the Third World".

A finger of warning is pointed at the serious dangers facing the international monetary system and the growing disorder in international trade, not to mention the arms race.

The report hopes to overcome these problems be centring efforts on massive development financing.

Brandt says: "What we need is a transition from the policy of fighting inflation to one of preventing a depression."

The crux of individual proposals contained in the report is the considerable expansion of international monetary liquidity.

The resources of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) should be vastly increased.

This should be effected by reallocating the special drawing rights (SDRs), increasing quota allocation by at least 100 per cent; by extending and expanding the General Credit Arrangements; by increasing borrowing at the central banks and on the capital market; and finally, by modifying the conditions for IMF loans.

These suggestions would culminate in the creation of a huge inflationary apparatus.

The liquidity of the World Bank ought also to be extended, particularly by boosting borrowing facilities.

The theses are very revealing with regard to the hotly-disputed question of the conditions laid down by the IMF as a prerequisite for granting its loans.

The report criticises the behaviour of the Fund in this respect when it states that one of the main reasons for the discontentment expressed by some countries about the IMF conditions must be sought in the "painful measures of economic policy" to which these countries are "forced".

In many cases such measures are demanded of these countries "just to receive a comparatively small loan from the IMF".

Many countries today view the IMF "with mistrust, indeed enmity". It is accused of not taking enough "consideration of political realities".

The interests of the power elites in

> **'Better preventing depression than fighting inflation'**

these countries are often accepted as untouchable "realities".

Although the report does not deny the necessity of conditions for the loans, it demands that he IMF "take greater account than up to now of the actual ability of the country in question to re-organise its economic structure."

This "is particularly dependent on the level of development".

It almost sounds trivial when the IMF is urged to realise that "the situation cannot be improved overnight, particularly in the poorest and least adjustable countries, if an unsatisfactory political course has been pursued in these countries for some time."

In view of such criticism one can only hope that the IMF sticks to its previous line of action and refuses to soften up. Otherwise, the ones who would then really suffer are the poorest of the poor themselves.

However, the recommendations made by the report on the aspect of trade should be given serious consideration.

Quite rightly, a plea is made for a "renewed commitment to the basic principles of an open trade system which functions according to rules which have been agreed upon.

What is more an assurance should be given to oppose all demands for protectionism when formulating and applying national trade policies and laws".

The demand to eliminate all barriers in industrialised countries which prevent imports of tropical products is also a justified plea.

On the subject of the international supply of food the report quite rightly emphasises the thesis according to which food production should be encouraged in the developing countries themselves.

In this process, the national food supply strategies should — as put forward by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation play a dominant part.

On the subject of food aid the report mentions the fact that this question has "become a troublesome topic". It is accepted that "some of the criticism is justified".

Nevertheless, the report demands "a new and much higher objective", without dealing more closely with the massive criticism put forward.

The agriculture lobbies in surplus countries can be most grateful for this approach. The report pins great hopes on the forthcoming UNCTAD meeting (World Trade Conference).

It recommends "reverting back to summit meetings which could provide impetus to the negotiations."

It supports the "start of global talks on international economic cooperation as soon as possible", the United Nations General Assembly adopting a prevalent role in this respect.

Shridat Ramphal (Guyana), member of the Commission and Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, said while presenting the report in Bonn that the developing countries should stop adopting ultimatum stances at conferences and introduce negotiable proposals.

He said they should stop wrapping their demands up in highflying declarations of principle. It would be better if developing countries try to convince the industrialised countries of their arguments — if need be in smaller representative groups — rather than merely outvote them.

Just like the first report, the second report also deals in passing with the problems of the developing countries' own efforts towards improving their lot.

The first report contained the often quoted sentence: "The acceptance of our proposals is faced with political forces which result from established interests and the extent of poverty itself..."

The new report also fails to grapple with the basic question of how much influence such vast financial aid can in fact exert when faced by these "political forces" and "established interests".

This means that there is still no answer to the decisive question of how these and many other barriers to development are to be overcome.

How can foreign aid be prevented from being misused purely to reinforce the status quo in these countries, indeed used to extend the sphere of influence and power of the established socio-political groupings even further?

It is common knowledge that the bulk of development aid has up to now

Public aid for the Third W…
1981 in $ billion
EEC 12.7 · Opec … 7.8 · USA 5.8 · Japan 3.2 · East Bloc 2.1
CONDOR

primarily benefited the upp… strata in these countries, ind… bureaucrats, at most trickling … the middle classes.

These are the same groups … vocate (via the governments … decisively control) the stepp… external aid.

The report does not say how … guaranteed that most of the … neled into developing countri… gets to those who need it … poor.

The report skirts around the … barriers to development exist… countries themselves by pla… much of its emphasis on foreig…

It does not correspond to the … of this world if the Commissi… that the progress of the South … dependent on reasonable … policy as on international mea…

> **'Demands being wrapped up in high-flying principles'**

"Just as" shows to what ex… Commission overestimates the … support from outside.

At this stage it is worth me… the theses put forward by the … chairman of the OECD's Devel… Committee, Maurice Williams (…

According to Williams, the his… the old — capitalist and sociali… dustrialised countries has taugh… economic progress is above all … sult of domestic reforms and … measures designed to mobilise the … tive energy of its peoples.

The developing countries mus… take their destiny into their own … and "no international economic … — no matter how it is organised … be a substitute for national acti… reforms.

"Setting up an orderly sys… home demands sacrifices and … ment, dedicated and effort, if eco… and social progress is to be achie…

Both Brandt reports ignore the… blems and thus support the alibi … by many developing countries fo… poning their own development … by arguing that they need more … ces from outside.

One could have at least expe… body in which the North and the … are represented to have focuse… much attention on the problem … mestic barriers to development … the question of the extent of forei…

Otto Ma…
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ … 11 Ma…)



■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Change of attitude needed to save Germany's forests

…nvironmental protection is no longer in its infancy. Things have …me a long way since efforts to protect … environment first began. The time … come to reorganise environmental …licies accordingly.

The case of the dying forests in Ger…ny is a clear reminder of the fact that …matic measures need to be taken.

…f not, other parts of our eco-system …y find themselves struggling to sur…e.

The present set of policy tools is not …e to cope. All we have is a rigid, …ice-state like system of regimenta… right down to the last detail. Eco…ic factors are simply disregarded.

…he very expense of such a system …ld be enough to ward off any more …mpts to continue environmental …ection on this basis.

…et us for example take a look at the …ch discussed and as regards its inten… praiseworthy decree relating to …e furnaces, adopted by the previous …ernment.

Its aim was to tackle the problem of …ng forests. The present emission …el of sulphur dioxide is to be re…ed from 3.5m tons to 2.5m tons each …r, i.e. by just under 30 per cent.

The costs involved are estimated by … Federal government at DM8bn for …estments and a further DM2.5bn bil…n for annual overhead costs.

That's a lot of money. But what does …n fact achieve?

According to calculations by the Frei…rg forestry expert, Niesslein, this sti…lation will only lead to a real drop of … per cent in suphur dioxide by 1995 …an annual average of just about one … cent.

This is due to the fact that half of the …mission of this gas comes across the …orders from other countries and at the …me time half of the air purified here …fts into the atmosphere of neighbour…g countries.

In addition, the overwhelming majo…ty of the furnaces will not be affected … this ruling since the old plants are …bject to such though measures as the …w ones.

However, the very fact that the older …naces are spared will mean that in …-end outdated and particularly da…aging installations will be operated …nger than is usually the case. This is a …ttering result.

One per cent less sulphur dioxide a …ar is certainly not going to be able to …ve our forests.

Niesslein states that the only way to …ke progress is to cut back emissions …ring the next ten years by 70 per cent! However, the costs in this case would … astronimical and no-one could af…ord them.

Do we therefore have to stand and by …lessly watch as the forests die?

Not at all.

We must switch over to environmen… protection measures which are more …xible and oriented towards market …nciples.

According to Nießlein's estimates, it …uld be possible an investment spend…ng figure of DM12bn (instead of …M8bn at present designated) and an…ual overhead costs of DM3.4bn (in…ead of DM2.4bn) to succeed in cutting …wn the emission of sulphur during … next ten years by the required 70 per …nt.

This incredible achievement, he …aims, wouldn't even require one-and-…half times the money needed anyway.

Or to put it another way: if the pre…nt level of desulphurising expenditure … maintained this would reduce the …ission of sulphur dioxide by 45 per cent — the only requirement being a change to market operations.

How would such a system work? Niesslein's plan is to issue SO_2 emission certificates to all furnace operators in at the start of 1984.

These certificates would certify the respective emission levels of individual operators, i.e. the certificates represent a documentation for the operator of the status quo: it attests to his right to emit SO_2 to the extent he has done so up to now.

For this reason, the certificates are issued free of charge.

However, these certificates will then be devalued each year by a given percentage figure over a period of ten years.

This would restrict the associated right of emission more and more.

The same certificate would entitle the furnace operator to an ever-decreasing emission level of sulphur dioxide.

The rate of "devaluation" depends on the size of the desired target figure.

If this figure is 30 per cent, as intended by the already existing decree on large furnaces, the annual devaluation rate would be 3.6 per cent.

However, if the ambitious target of 70 per cent is set, the figure increase to 11.3 per cent devaluation per annum.

Whichever is decided on, however, there would be no need to resort to stricter legal stipulations to keep levels down.

The real highlight of this suggestion is to be seen in the fact that such certificates are transferable.

They can be sold or leased on.

This means that the operators of furnaces in which desulphurising is disproportionately expensive (technologically) would have the possibility of avoiding the costs by buying more certificates.

For in doing so they could compensate the devaluation of their own certificates.

To do so they hve to find market partner with excess certificates where the installations have cut down emission to a greater extent that required.

The latter no longer require all their emission rights and can sell of the certificates they do not need.

Their profit from such a transaction will contribute towards a part of the "environmental rationalisation" process enabling them to obtain the latest and most productive technologies.

There is therefore an incentive to do more than just abide by the norm.

There is sufficient reward for inventiveness and the bold use of environmental technologies.

At present, however, every operator hesitates a long time before becoming innovational in this field.

If he were to become active in this respect he would on push forward the ominous "level of technology," which decides on the conditions for new operating permits.

Such an innovationally-minded operator would only gain the resentment of his colleagues and his own production conditions would sooner or later deteriorate.

Environmental protection is therefore to a certain extent practised with the brakes on.

Technological innovation is prevented by well-meaning legal stipulations, particularly there where it is needed most.

What is more, the certificates would reduce the overall costs of environmental protection.

For the cutting-back of SO_2 is carried out where it is most inexpensive (where the installation of desulphurising facilities saves buying the expensive certificates), while it will be avoided whereever it is too expensive (certificates being cheaper than the desulphurising).

American experiences with similar, market-based stategies to protect the environment have shown that this method can lead to a drop of between 35 and 75 per cent of ensuing costs.

The motto "money is no object" just cannot apply to environmental protection.

Rational and cost-conscious methods ar required, just like anywhere else in production.

This is the only way to financially come to terms with increased environmental protection and remain internationally competitive.

It's no good to try and deal with the cost explosion in this field by ignoring market forces.

These forces must be harnassed in the interest of environmental protection; this must be one of the most urgent priorities for the new government in Bonn.

Holger Bonus
(Rheinischer Merkus/Christ und Welt, 11 March 1983)

Lowish fervor over acid rain in Europe

Chancellor Kohl and Interior Minister Zimmermann are carrying on the campaign for a European policy to fight air pollution and save Germany's dying forests.

A phenomenon called acid rain is widely blamed for the wholesale destruction of much of the country's forest land. Among the components of acid is industrial fallout, especially chemicals containing sulphur compounds.

Scientific evidence is that about half the harmful components of acid rain drift into Germany from other countries.

Herr Zimmermann is chairman of the Council of Ministers in Brussels which deals with environmental questions.

Chancellor Kohl intends to make known his thoughts on the subject when the European heads of government meet in Stuttgart in June.

But they are likely to have an uphill battle.

The EEC Commissioner responsible for environmental questions is Karl-Heinz Narjes. He says the Commission intends to take action but "will not be able to take immediate steps because of a lack of scientific knowledge in the field."

It has become apparent, in fact, that when the EEC talks about pollution, it is almost always only the Germans who are referring to dying forests. That applies in the Commission, the Council of Ministers and the European Parliament.

Even when a Bonn spokesman claims "a positive response" towards Bonn's ideas, there is no mistaking the lack of interest by the French, Italians or Belgians.

Car fumes are a dangerous component of the pollution that according to expert opinion, is killing off trees. Yet, says European MP Rolf Linkohr, European regulations on car fumes are "easily the most lax in the world."

This was because they were geared to the "most backward member state in terms of environmental policy."

The SPD/FDP government in Bonn unsuccessfully proposed environmental protection measures in Brussels.

In 1979, 34 countries including some from the East Bloc, signed the Geneva agreement on international air pollution. Yet it took four years, until 1983, before the member states actually got round the conference table and talked.

In view of these practical experiences, it is improbable that Brussels will be able to trigger an effective international response.

Kohl says that it is "almost too late" for the German forests.

Brussels officials of course deny this. Of course, they are making every effort to combat tree-killing throughout Europe; of course, they are not going to sit back and take it easy.

However, these things need time, and the acid rain problem cannot be solved in one fell swoop.

After all, "in the next few weeks" the EEC Commission will draw up a plan for a general directive on the emission control of industrial plants in Europe.

Maximum emission values will be laid down, above all for sulphur dioxide, the most important pollutant in terms of quantity.

However, this guideline will not contain clear limits as fixed recently by the German government in a ruling on power stations.

One expert in the Commission said the planned stipulation still lacks sufficient bite.

What is more, any effective measures have at the moment no chance of getting passed the decisive organisational barrier, the EEC Council of Ministers.

In this body, where the national interests of the ten members states are most likely to clash, the French, for example, are unlikely to be willing to accept stricter regulations from Brussels for their industrial plants.

Diplomats in Brussels have over the years developed many tricks to block EEC activities if it suits them on cost or other grounds. "The European Community will not do much to help the German forests", as German members of the European Parliament, Karl von Wogau, says.

If the ten governments of the EEC cannot manage to reach some kind of agreement, the wish expressed by Narjes to bring about coordinated action within the framework of the Geneva Agreement on international pollution of the air among the 34 signatory states looks like remaining unfulfilled.

It has taken up to 1983, four years, for experts to agree to carry out the first official meeting.

Their strategy is unlikely to be completed before the German forests are all dead.

Uwe Vorkötter
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 11 March 1983)

■ TECHNOLOGY

Bilingual dictionary on a silicon chip

One thing computers cannot do is make decisions for us.

This applies to the decision as to whether any particular small computer is really essential or whether it represents yet another one of the superfluous needs so abundant in society.

The miniaturisation of electronics with its vast storage capacity within a minute space can relieve the human brain of tredious tasks, save time and trouble, both of which can then be channelled into more important, "more human" activities.

One such electronic aid is the pocket calculator, which is quite rightly now a commonplace apparatus.

The latest device in a similar vein is the electron dictionary.

This small computer — the size of a deck of playing cards, only much flatter and weighing only 70 grams — can translate from German into English and vice versa.

Within seconds a push by the tip of the finger on two keys can retrieve an expression, which is then presented on a miniature display screen.

This new device is called *Alpha 8*, because it can store 8,000 key words, 4,000 in each language.

The carefully selected basic and intermediate-level of vocabulary has in mind two main target groups: schoolchildren, who according to the various state education ministries should know about 4,000 words in a foreign language by the time they take their school-leaving exams; the other group comprises tourists, for whom even words which occur less frequently have been included which may be of use when staying abroad, e.g. platform. The selection and weighing-up of which words to include is a true lexicographic achievement.

Langenscheidt, in Munich, the world's largest publishers of dictionaries, was able to include 125 years of experience in this field.

The departments for English language and literature and French language and literature both certify that *alpha 8* has a representative selection of vocabulary.

The manufacturers have included brief explanations of the word equations, for example, classification of genders, of irregular forms, of American English etc.

A special electronics department set up in the publishing house had been working on the dictionary since 1978 (the hardware manufacturer is Sharp in Japan).

This time, they could not fall back on experience gathered in the USA.

Interest just wasn't large enough on a one-language continent.

This left the matter up to a central European country surrounded by countries in which many languages are spoken.



(Cartoon: Langer/Süddeutsche...)

As with any dictionary — *Alpha 8* presupposes knowledge of pronunciation, the melody of the foreign language and basic knowledge of its vocabulary.

A stored vocabulary of 4,000 words is not outstanding, yet provides a solid foundation.

So as to be able to memorise these word by word, letter by letter, additional aids have been incorporated. For example, the "memo" key.

Up to 16 tricky words which are really difficult to remember can be stored and repeated until they stick in your memory.

And then there's a key for "practice." Words are selected at random (visually, not acoustically) and the operator asked for the correct answers.

This relieves parents of a arduous task and helps tourists to brush up their knowledge.

Of course, this is another case of being fascinated by mini-elec... push the button and you get the...

Yet alongside the element of... there are the learning efforts in...

And the fact that the device ... tains a pocket calculator makes ... more useful.

Both the English and French ... *8s* are already available in ... (DM149). A Spanish and Italian ... are being worked on.

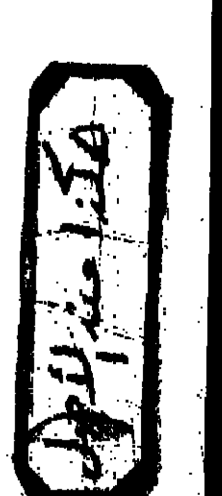
Of course, this computer ... think.

The human brain with its ma... ciations, ideas, experience stru... always more than one step ahead ... machine.

However, machines can supp... memory. *Alpha 8* should nei... over-praised, nor condemned ... to rational advantage.

Anneliese Str...

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonn... 6 M...)



EXHIBITIONS

Ireland: more to offer than just James Joyce and whiskey

No other ancient culture which has over the past few years made its ...y into our museums in the form of ...torical, aesthetic and material objects ...value has seemed quite as exotic and ...nfusing as the Irish one.

And this despite the fact that it evolv... only a few hundred kilometres away ...m the artistic centres of Central Eu...pe.

This is the first impression which ...ks in the mind of the visitor to the ...st manifestation of world-wide tra...ling "culture-diplomacy" in the ...llraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne.

Once again, this is an exhibition ...ich has been showered with superla...s.

Eire has sent its complete set of na...nal holy relics on tour and one su...cts that its main intention is to de...nstrate that the Esmerald isle is more ...n just whisky and James Joyce, ...blin and the hot-headed untamable ...ge for freedom.

This travelling exhibition which has ...ready been shown in Paris and New ...rk has now stopped off in Cologne.

The exhibition concentrated primari... on the island's religious early medie... epoch, even though the parade of ...nemasonry and wrought-ironworks, jewellery handicraft and illumination ...gins back in the Stone Age and is mu...ically sounded out by the harp of the ...gendary King Brian Bor (late 15th ...ntury).

This accounts for the reference in the ...oud and tradition-conscious subtitle ...f the exhibition to the three millenia ...vered by the "Thesaurus Hiberniae."

Just as the Irish language is an exotic ...allenge to the tongue, the complex ...cabulary of symbols and ornaments, ...mbined on fibula, reliquaries and il...strated book pages presents a secreti...mesh of meaning.

The Irish never really tried to convey ...eaning via realistic pictures.

During the 9th century, Irish artisans ...ll refused to depict human figures.

Instead they covered ritualistic and ...undane instruments with extremely ...mplicated wickerwork patterns and ...byrinthine interlacings, with Gordian ...ots projected on to the surface, with ...wining lines and animal and plant ...apes inextricably intertwined and ...st abstract.

The bishops' crosiers were also ...dded with a mass of enmeshed ci...ers.

Among the manuscripts we find so...lled tapestry pages, the ornamental ...coration of which served as a glorifi...tion of the holy text.

The reason for shying away from ...ncrete manifestations is reasonable ...d succinct.

The Irish were spared the Roman ...bjugation of Europe and therefore ...ever experienced the naturalist cultu...l revolution of the ancient world.

They received their almost inexhaus...ble fund of ornamental shapes from ...e Celts, the Vikings and the Normans, ...ho occupied the country in that order.

The arrangement and decoration of ...e famous holy chalice of Ardagh from ...e 8th century, which together with the ...ccompanying treasures was found by a ...oung farmhand whilst hoeing potatoes ...n 1866, was even based on Byzantine ...odels.

The Germanic North and the Asian East unite in their hostility towards pictures.

The Irish also demonstrated their independence from central Europe in the field of books, the most highly-valued of which are the Book of Kells and the Book of Dimma.

Both were put together during the golden age of the Irish monast culture.

Between the 5th and the 8th centuries swarms of missionary monks made their way to as far as Italy to spread the word.

Restorers, who keep a protecting eye on the incredible achievements of European book art which now lie in air-conditioned steel cases and darkened bullet-proof showcases, shudder when they think of the fact that the psalters and gospels were once glorified as relics.

The Book of Durrow, for example, claimed to have been written by the holy Colomba himself, was used for curing diseased cattle, but the cure could only be successful if the book was dipped into water.

The miracle-working books were also used during periods of drought; one psalter called "the warrior" was taken along to the field of battle as a talisman guaranteeing victory.

The interest frequently shown by the Vikings in the monostic manuscripts was, admittedly, not a result of their alleged magic powers.

The rapacious men of the North were keen to possess the "slipcases" which were studded with precious stones.

These covers were then soon replaced by those made of leather.

And yet the marauding barbarians did not rob Ireland of all of the vast riches produced by the flourishing monasteries during this "Golden Era."

150 calves had to be slaughtered for the Book of Kells written on the finest vellum.

Extensive trade relations were taken advantage of to secure the import of the colours needed to do the calligraphies and paintings: scale insects from Central America provided crimson; the lapis lazuli, the brilliant blue colouring, was imported from the Asian mining areas at the foot of the Himalayas.

In his "Topographia Hiberniae" written in 1187, a contemporary reviewer wrote:

"There is a different pattern on almost every page, a whole set of different colours... You are surrounded by magnificent art without perhaps realising it. Take a closer look and you will discover art's most-treasured secrets. You will behold such details, so delicate and sensual, so precise and compact, so full of knots and loops, the colours so fresh and vivid. You will believe this to the work of an angel not of man." However, there was certainly no heavenly peace during the production of these holy scripts. The zealous missionaries, who had smaller, more handy versions of the magnificent volumes with them on their journeys (the first "paperbacks"), often had to meet deadlines. Another factor which led to stress and pressure was the competition between individual monasteries. The notes made by many a scribe in the margin give the

Continued on page 12



Probably 8th Century AD. Bronze artifact on show in exhibition of Irish culture. (Photo: Catalogue)

America and the real realism in an unreal world of reality

For America, realism is not a question of ideology. This is revealed by an exhibition being shown in the Nuremberg art gallery entitled "The new American Realism 1960-1980" (new here referring to the period not the innovational nature).

For it looks as if the Americans have never really taken all the theoreticising about the concept of realism that seriously.

This is vouched for by the vast repertoire of possible definitions contained in the visitor's catalogue:

"New realism, hard-edge realism, photographic realism, new photographic realism, hyper-realism, radical realism, neo-realism, neo-academic realism, thing-as-such realism, unconventional realism, artistic realism, laconic literalism, organic realism, allegorical realism, the new inhumanity and indeed the orphan of the modern age!"

The visitor doesn't have to take too close a look at these word cocktails. He can concentrate on the actual pictures which unassumingly show figured artistry. There is a special effect in the very first room: two almost life-sized "men on Garden Chairs" by Alex Katz.

This oil on aluminium production, painted and sawn-out, makes you feel you're staring at the real thing.

Behind this, the over-sized and meticulously exactly portrayed head of "Mark" by Chuck Close looks through one of the gallery's doors.

The other exhibition rooms also contain further examples of waxworks realism.

The "Red-headed Lady on the Green Velvet Chair", stark-naked, a bit dusty and apparently depressed by this state of this affairs, is one example.

Then we come across Duane Hanson's "Man with Crutch" and a leg in plaster, also shaped in vinyl and wearing proper clothes.

And finally, George Segal's "Butcher's Shop" with a plaster figure and plaster hens, a proper chopping block and real sausage rails and meat hooks.

In some cases, paintings are quite content to do a poor imitation of nature. Yet, more frequently the artistic transpositions, for example the group and individual portraits (including nudes), the still-lifes right through to the trompe d'oeils, then the landscapes and finally the reflecting glass facades and car-paint mirroring, are representative of the material made popular here by American photorealists, at a time when they had grown weary of the abstract.

Many of the artists in this exhibitions were already presented in 1981/82 at the Munich "American Paintings 1930—1980" exhibition.

There, however, they looked rather figurative competing as it were against the non-material works of art.

Things are different in Nuremberg.

It becomes clear that "realism" is more than just reality.

This is shown most clearly in the paintings by William Bailey, the "Portrait of S," a clear and unpretentious halfnude, the composition of which is reminiscent of Balthus withut adopting his lasciviousness, and the "Monte Migina Still-Life," a convincingly structured arrangement of dishes, pots and jars on a table, with delicately shaded colours infront of a reddishbrown background (as it were the continuation of the Moradian theme).

This is an exhibition worth seeing, since the distasteful is presented alongside the pleasing.

Peter Dittmar

(Die Welt, 11 March 1983)

'Like Mother, like Daughter,' oil on canvas, 1978-79, by D. J. Hall, American Realism exhibition. (Photo: Catalogue)

Children's film industry has trouble throwing off the Disney image

In the Federal Republic of Germany, children's cinema is still tantamount to Walt Disney or Cinderella.

Yet Germany has had its new type of children's films since the mid-1970s, spearheaded by Haro Senft, Gloria Behrens, Ilse Hofmann and Richard Claus.

The only problem here is that "*this new children's cinema takes place on television*," as the director of the family programme of Bavarian TV put it in a panel discussion last year.

Haro Senft's reply indicated that film makers realise that this can and should be remedied. He said: "We are craftsmen and television is an industrial enterprise for us; so the children's film must not be permitted to take place on television only. It belongs first and foremost in the cinemas."

Still, children's cinema exists; though only in a few major cities where a handful of committed people have been devoting themselves to it for years. They are cinema owners who set aside a few days a week for this type of film, accepting the commercial losses.

The lack of commercial success of children's cinema has nothing to do with a lack of interest on the part of the children. The problem lies in the fact that there are no steady viewers because after close to 15 years without a children's cinema it simply takes time for word to get around.

The advertising costs for children's films are much higher than for the regular variety and it takes considerably longer for such films to pay off.

So far, only West Berlin has taken this into account and done something about it by introducing a special *promotion scheme for children's cinemas* in the form of a DM15,000 prize to be awarded each year to the three most committed children's cinemas.

Another attempt to promote this type of cinema was made in North Rhine-Westphalia by a promotional organisation for children's films run by teachers, film makers, journalists and producers. In 1982, they selected eight films to be shown in ten hand-picked cinemas. The organisation untertook to do the necessary promotion work in the form of advertising, etc. in return for an undertaking by the cinemas to show children's films on at least threee days a week.

The soundness of this approach, subsidised by the North Rhine-Westphalia Film Bureau, is shown by the Rex Cinema in Wuppertal: The first showings had audiences of only three to seven children; but when the word spread, the local press had some positive reports and it became obvious that the scheme had become a regular feature, the number of children seeing the film rose markedly. In the third and fourth weeks, the cinema was almost sold out and now intends to institutionalise these matinees.

Though the experiment was not equally successful in all German cities due to differing local conditions, it nevertheless became obvious that there was a strong demand for good children's films everywhere.

Even so, children's films are also opposed in some quarters, among them some youth workers, teachers and parents.

The question that has been put forward by them is: Isn't television enough?

They also have a notion that these films are too "babyish".

But these reservations are unwarranted — at least where the new type of children's film is concerned. Showing children's films in cinemas gets the young away from the TV and enables them to see the film together with their peers.

One of the major advantages of cinema over television lies in the fact that the children can discuss what they have seen among each other. And what about the films themselves?

Far from being babyish, they depict a bit of real life though frequently with a conspicious lack of humour.

Ilse Hofmann's contribution to the 8th International Children's Film Festival in Frankfurt is a case in point.

Her film *Tollwut* (rabies) tells the story of Olli and Micki, two 13-year-old neighbourhood boys whose friendship founders on the social differences in their parental homes — differences that become increasingly clear as the film unfolds.

Olli's consumption-oriented parents become as much of a cliché in the film as the liberal and enlightened parents of Micki. Even so, many of the young viewers recognise their own conflicts in this film.

Gloria Behrens' film *Rosi und die grosse Stadt* (Rosi and the big city) is essentially the musical telling the problems of an 11-year-old girl after her parents' move from Bavaria to Berlin.

Django Edwards as a teacher together with the witty songs and cliché-like other characters [...] this film from becoming a [...] flection of a bleak bit of reality.

Yet, its high quality notwi[...] *Rosi und die grosse Stadt* tur[...] minor disaster for the [...] *Filmverlag der Autoren.*

The film was premiered in [...] not in one of the established [...] Instead, it was shown in a [...] Berlin's famous Kurfürstend[...] net result was that virtually [...] came to see the film.

Usch Bartelmess-Weller's *Kinder aus No. 67* (the child[...] No. 67 had *Basis Filmverleih* [...] tributors, an organisation [...] had years of experience with [...] commercial distribution of [...] films. This film did a lot better [...]

It tells the story of a group [...] dren from differing social back[...] during the Nazi era. The film [...] been seen about 100,000 view[...] resounding success for a child[...]

Having only just started to [...] tender children's film plant is [...] jeopardy.

As in all other cultural [...] money for children's cinema is [...] supply: Production subsidies [...] by the *Kuratorium Junger D[...] Film* are to be discontinued [...] subsidies provided by the Bonn [...] mic Affairs and Interior Minis[...] not be raised.

The tight budget of the C[...] and Youth Film Centre in Re[...] the most important promoter [...] commercial children's films, [...] not be boosted.

Yet the work this organisation [...] in developing a functioning [...] cinema is unmatched and ind[...]ble.

The children's film is still [...] essentially restricted to festivals [...] those of Berlin, Frankfurt and [...] And the artistic quality of the [...] tional output shown there is [...] still to be reported on.

Oliver T[...]

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 11 M[...])

Continued from page 11

present-day reader an idea of the conditions under which these monks had to work.

Poor results were put back to poor material, lack of light, the cold, ill-health, lack of experience and the haste already mentioned.

According to the legend by the scribe Dimma from the Roscrea monastery, the holy Cronán gave him only one day to copy the gospels.

The fact that this incredible feat was in fact realised was only due to heavenly support: the sun is claimed to have stayed in the sky for 14 days.

A word of summary on this Irish cultural presentation, which with its total exhibition figure of just under one hundred objects is geared to public receptivity rather than following along the lines of some mammoth presentations:

The Emerald Isle, today impoverished and victim of bloody turmoil after mass emigration and centuries of English occupation, was one a rich nation in all respects.

During the Bronze Age alone a huge golden mural tapestry took on a dimension unknown in other parts of Europe at the time.

The massive pieces with its almost modern-looking patterns based on tabular, funneled, circular and spiral shapes are still shrouded in secrecy.

The lack of traces of use would suggest that they were indeed never used.

The origins of the vast amounts of precious stones are still unknown up to this very day.

Wolf Schön

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 11 March 1983)



Director tells where the money went

Shooting of the most expensive film ever made in Germany is about to begin in Munich. The cost of Wolfgang Petersen's film version of Michael Ende's novel *Die unendliche Geschichte* (the endless story) is a whacking DM52m, much of which will go into complicated special effects shots.

Germany's second most expensive production *Das Boot* (The Boat) was also a Petersen film though the price was only DM20m.

Much of this had to be spent due to the unusually long shooting time of 18 months (compared with the usual six to 12 weeks).

The Tin Drum (cost: more than DM10m) and Fassbinder's *Lili Marleen* (DM12m) also rank among the very expensive German films.

The across-the-board average cost of a German film ranges between DM1m and DM3m. Hollywood would consider such films low-budget projects, a category that includes all American films costing less than the equivalent of DM6m, the average production cost being between DM14m and DM20m.

German low-budget films must be produced at between DM600,000 and DM900,000.

Costs are usually treated as production secrets, but Vadim Glowna some time ago released the production figures for his *Desperado City* which won the *Camera d'or* at the 1981 Festival in Cannes.

DM420,000 of the DM1m budget was spent for actors, director, script writer cameramen, etc.

He used "low-cost" actors because stars would have busted his budget; DM54,000 went towards music and author's copyrights (he could certainly not have had a Mario Simmel for that amount).

The technical equipment (cameras, lights, microphones, etc.) some of it rented and some bought, cost DM57,500.

The unexposed film cost DM150,000, which is pretty much average.

Michael Cimino's four-hour Western "Heaven's Gate" cost 20 times this amount — in dollars.

The cost of costumes, props and similar stuff for *Desperado City* was a relatively low DM30,000.

The actual shooting costs of Glowna's film, which included lice[...] electricity, rents, food for the [...] similar items, was DM30,500. A[...] this were travel expenses to the [...] DM100,000.

Low-budget productions must [...] ticularly thrifty with travel expe[...] cause even a short distance fli[...] Munich-Berlin can become a co[...] fair for a team of only four.

The shooting time for *Des[...] City* was less than six weeks. T[...] take was made on 4 July 1980 a[...] ing began on 14 July.

Usually it takes another three [...] months from the last take before [...] becomes a finished product.

The first rough cutting is follo[...] another one before the fine cut [...] gins. This is then followed by [...] music, sound effects and then the [...] editing. The cost for this part [...] operation is at least DM100,000.

Desperado City, an average G[...] feature film, took two-and[...] months from the end of shooting [...] finished product.

Das Boot needed more tha[...] months for this part of the ope[...] and the *Unendliche Geschichte* [...] first of its two parts is to reach the [...] mas by Christmas)will take five [...] from the last take to the final copy.

M. v. Schwarz[...]

(Die Welt, 8 Ma[...])

MEDICINE

Pregnant women warned: active aspirin ingredient under suspicion

[A]cetylsalicylic acid (ASA), the active ingredient of aspirin and a wide [ran]ge of other drugs, has come under [...] scrutiny by the Federal Health [Aut]hority (BGA) in Berlin.

[A] hearing chaired by BGA President [Pro]fessor Carl Überla has dealt with [un]desirable side effects reported by va[riou]s hospitals, though no conclusions [wer]e reached due to the difficulties in [asse]ssing the side effects.

[T]his is primarily due to the lack of [...]d clinical studies that would be ap[plic]able to Germany. Surveys made in [Am]erica are of little use here due to dif[fere]nt drug-taking habits.

[F]or instance: Americans consume [bet]ween 15 and 20 billion ASA-based [...]s a year, averaging out at 55 gram[s] of ASA per person. German per ca[pita] consumption is only eight gram[s].

Despite the inconclusive outcome of [the] hearing, the BGA recommends that [pr]egnant women should not take ASA-[ba]sed drugs in the last few weeks before [gi]ving birth.

The recommendation is based on the [fac]t that ASA is known to prevent [blo]od clotting — a desirable effect for heart attack patients — which can lead to excessive bleeding during and immediately after birth.

Some newly born babies of women who had taken aspirin in the last week of pregnancy had traces of blood in the urine. But none of these babies were in any danger.

The most serious of the possible side effects of ASA is the socalled Reye syndrome that has attracted considerable attention in the past few years. The syndrome was first described by the Australian Dr R.W. Reye in an article published in the medical journal *The Lancet.*

The author examined 21 children with severe brain damage. All of them showed fatty deposits in a number of organs, especially the liver.

The symptoms all these children had in common were vomiting, disorientation, blackouts, spasms, fever and shortness of breath: 17 of the children examined by Dr Reye died a few days after being hospitalised.

The actual causes of death were pathological changes in the liver and the brain. Here, the mitochondria — granular or rod-shaped bodies in a cell that function in the metabolism of fat, glycogen and proteins — seem to play a major role. The mitochondria of a patient suffering from Reye's syndrome can no longer function and the metabolism is disrupted. This leads to fat deposits in the liver and to rising ammonia levels.

These pathological changes that originally applied only to the liver have been found in other organs as well, especially the brain.

Recent cell examinations under electron microscopes showed that the nerve cells of Reye syndrome patients swell, leading to brain oedema.

Though it is still unknown what causes the disease, researchers assume that it is triggered by a virus infection. They have observed that the syndrome is particularly prevalent after influenza epidemics due to the B-type virus and after chickenpox infections.

But the researchers are certain that this alone does not cause the syndrome. Genetic defects are likely to play a role here as are certain outside influences, among them a range of drugs.

US researchers now suspect that ASA and a number of antibiotics might be among the culprits.

An estimated 600 to 1,200 American children and juveniles fall prey to the Reye syndrome every year. The relatively high incidence of the disease has now been attributed to the American population's high intake of ASA.

But none of this has been proved conclusively. After a thorough investigation of pros and cons, the US Food and Drug Administration decided that no action against ASA was necessary.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, there have been some 20 Reye syndrome cases in the past few years, five of which have been partly attributed to ASA. But the epidemiological information available so far permits no definite conclusion as to a possible causality.

The Berlin hearing also discussed the link between ASA and stomach and intestinal hemorrhaging. But these side effects of ASA have been known for some time and are mentioned in the information sheet included with ASA-based drugs.

Generally, the side effects of ASA are minimal, well-researched and thus predictable. But this does not mean that ASA can be taken in any quantity and over a prolonged period. Even though there appears to be no health risk if taken in moderation, the rare side effects that can occur should receive more attention.

Professor Überla told the meeting that his Authority would announce the steps it intends to take in connection with ASA before this coming summer.

Though the hearing did not lead to any spectacular new findings, there is every likelihood that the information sheets included with ASA-based drugs will come under scrutiny and be reviewed.

The pharmaceutical industry is already considering extending the period during which pregnant women should not take ASA from the present "few weeks" before giving birth to "three months" to reduce the risk of excessive bleeding during birth.

Konrad Müller-Christiansen

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 12 March 1983)

[P]atients demand to know what is wrong

More than 40 per cent of German hospital patients want to be told [w]ith "absolute frankness" what is [w]rong with them, polls by the *[H]amburg-Mannheimer-Stiftung für In[for]mationsmedizin* show.

The survey, issued in Munich, also [sh]ow that more than two-thirds of the [pa]tients want their doctors to give them [m]ore comprehensive information.

It is also amazing how many people [w]ith terminal illness want to "know the [w]orst." Close to half the respondents [cr]iticised their doctors for holding back [in]formation. As a result, many patients [see]k this information elsewhere, such as [in] medical literture, various pamphlets, [etc]. Others try to get the information [fro]m people suffering from the same [pr]oblem.

Patients also complained about the [me]dical jargon used by doctors, saying [tha]t this "puts an additional psycholo[gic]al strain" on them.

Close to 60 per cent said that doctors [pa]id too little attention to psychological [fa]ctors when making a diagnosis.

Cancer patients complained most [ab]out not being able to get full informa[tio]n on their condition and the future [co]urse of the desease.

Next on the list of people complain[in]g about lack of information were [th]ose suffering from cardiovascular and [ps]ychosomatic disorders.

Erlangen cardiologist Professor Erich [...]ang suggests that a particularly impor[ta]nt aspect of the survey is the fact that [...] per cent of the respondents com[pl]ained about too little information on [pr]eventive measures.

This is an aspect that should receive [m]ore attention.

dpa

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 9 March 1983)

Quick action essential in heart infarction treatment

Medicine has come a long way since the American Dr James Bryan Herrick first described the clinical symptoms of a heart infarction in 1912. But an effective therapy was slow in coming.

In the Federal Republic of Germany alone, some 85,000 people a year die because a blood clot clogs a coronary artery, cutting off the blood supply to the heart and eventually destroying the affected tissue.

It was not until a few years ago that the Göttingen cardiologist Professor Peter Rentrop — almost accidentally — discovered a method of stopping the deadly process leading to heart failure.

He was treating a heart patient, inserting a catheter into the man's artery and guiding it to one of the two heart chambers under continuous X-ray control. Suddenly, he noticed that the catheter was clogged by a blood cot.

To prevent infarction, Professor Rentrop inserted a thin wire into the catheter, guiding it to the clot. The wire pierced the clot and thus secured the free flow of blood to the heart, saving the patient.

This enabled Professor Rentrop, who now works in the USA to develop an entirely new therapy.

He inserts a catheter into the leg artery of patients who have just had an infarction, guiding the catheter to the blood clot. Once this has been reached, he injects special medication to dissolve the clot through the catheter.

The method is meanwhile being used routinely in some German hospitals. Once an infarction has been clearly diagnosed, the patient is given a contrast substance that will show up in X-rays to establish whether there is in fact a blood clot and to pinpoint its location.

If a blood clot is found and pinpointed, the doctor inserts a catheter, injecting a clot-dissolving substance. Regular X-ray checks at 15-minute intervals enable the doctor to see whether the clot is dissolving and whether the flow of blood is unobstructed once more.

As soon as the blood flows freely again, the patient's chest pain stops immediately. But this alone does not spell a cure.

What matters is to remove the source of the infarction and keep a constant check on the patient's progress.

The source of the problem is usually a place in the artery that has been greatly narrowed by various deposits on its inner wall, thus obstructing the free flow of blood.

It is here that the clots usually form. The remedy here is a socalled balloon catheter inserted into the artery. Once the narrowed place in the artery has been reached, the balloon is blown up, pressing the deposits against the artery wall and so enlarging its inner diameter.

Regular follow-up checkups by X-ray enable doctors to establish whether the treatment has had a lasting effect.

If treatment started immediately after the heart attack — within the first three hours — doctors usually find that the heart tissue affected by the infarction starts functioning normally again two or three weeks later because it was only damaged rather than destroyed.

The new method is now being used routinely at the University Hospitals of Göttingen, Berlin, Aachen and Hamburg.

The Hamburg University Hospital ha treated some 160 patient with this method. In 80 per cent of the cases the doctors managed to reopen the clogged coronary arteries. And in half the cases treatment began early enough to reactivate those parts of the heart that had been affected by the infarction.

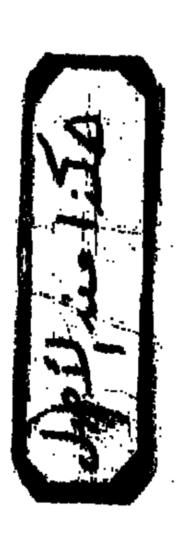
This type of treatment has reduced the hospital mortality of infarction patients from previously 22 to six per cent.

The therapy can, of course, only be successful if there is a competent team of doctors available round the clock. Another must is for the patient to be taken to hospital immediately so that the sections of the heart affected by the infarction can be saved.

If the time lag is too long, there is every likelihood that the affected heart tissue may die.

Hein Gross

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 11 March 1983)



MODERN LIVING

Singles and the horror of the failed weekend

Agile, mobile, financially independent, sexually liberated.

A mixed bunch of men and women in their late 20s and early 30s whose evenings are always open.

A life-style between pub and club is the image suggested by a new social group of free individuals.

A new trend towards living alone, becoming a "single".

Is this some kind of avant-garde for an alternative way of living, a trend-setter for a life of bachelorhood?

This at any rate is the popular image of this trendy group of loners, to whom loneliness and isolation are unkown words and who are not tied to home or bed.

Are they really all "swinging singles", much envied voluntary and convinced solitaries? Far from it!

According to a study by the Hamburg-based BAT Institute for Leisure Studies there is a definite credibility gap between the singles ideology in its propagated form and the real-life situation for persons in this group.

To begin with a few background figures: Of the 14 million West Germany living alone — eight million of them women — there are, says the study, only a few "convinced" singles.

Most of the persons in this group are divorced, widowed or separated from their partners.

The real "voluntary" singles would seem to be characterised by a certain psychological proneness to singledom.

The study refers to Sigmund Freud who regarded the inability to enter into "object relationships" as the core of a "narcissistic character", for which any deeper emotional relationship is associated with suffering.

As a result, being a single is in many cases not a rational decision based on free will but a person's psychological destiny.

The exclusive nature of this selfcentredness only permits limited scope for other objects of love. Many respondents confirmed this assertion.

"I like being admired" or "I like being the centre of attention" are confessions frequently made.

Marriage therapists formulate the situation as follows: the large number and frequent changing of social relationships can be signs of a psychological deficiency.

In reality, such behaviour patterns reveal the inability to establish really deep human relationships, above all on a lasting basis.

In many cases, there are massive fears of losing one's own identity as soon as intimacy, closeness and emotional ties "threaten" to become reality.

For fear that they might be "lost", "swallowed up" or might "disappear" within such a relationship, many take to flight, break off contacts, fling themselves into new social relationship which are not as dangerous (are more detached).

However, usually singles don't feel too good about the situation, since their own ego remains undecided,

"Somehow, you become a stranger to yourself, you just don't really know what you want. Sometimes you want one thing, but are not willing to do without the other."

On the one hand, there is a desire to consolidate one's identity and create a distinct individuality; on the other, there is a sense of enjoyment at the inner in-between state.

As the American expert on family sociology, Edward Shorter, remarks on this point:

"The single as a social model generally embodies the fears many have of failure and being psychologically overtaxed, of losing one's detachment and ego. At the same time, it encompasses a yearning to be free and independent, to have self-control, and in fact to exercise power."

Shorter traces this situation back to childhood experiences. Expecially if the parents split up while the child young, this child will suffer long-term psychological damage.

Children who were younger than six years of age when their parents split up are quite clearly the most lonely adults.

Indeed, three quarters of those living alone state that they are lonely. Almost a quarter admitted that they have too few contacts, do not like being alone and feel lonely during their leisure time.

The reaction is a deliberate immersion in the present. That which is here and now must be taken full advantage of in line with the motto: Live each day to the full! Something has got to happen now, today, the weekend must be a complete success.

In some cases, the individual's fantasy and desires centre around whether or not the weekend will be a success or not days before the weekend comes.

Everything must be well planned for the "event" — to make sure nothing goes wrong.

However, the more the single plans and organises, the less scope is available for surprises and the unexpected.

The result: before the week starts, many singles find themselves in a dilemma between the need for security and the desire for freedom.

The worst thing that can happen to a "true" single on a weekend is nothing. A single's normal evening off is nothing out of the ordinary.

On work-days many singles get involved in very day-to-day leisure activities such as listening to the radio, watching TV, ringing up friends.

Many admit that now and again TV and the telephone assume the role of a substitute partner. However, compared with the after-work evenings of a typical family, the singles' evenings show a more pronounced emphasis on leisure activities.

The "sloughing" of the working individual into a leisure individual is more actively carried out.

Nevertheless, singles usually spend their work-day evenings at home, the weekend is then devoted to friends and acquaintances.

In importance, the weekend for a single is similar to that of a holiday to married couples. Singles are not content to just dream of the sun, sand and palm trees. They turn their dreams into reality and travel to these sunny shores — not only during their official holidays.

This may also result from the fact that the social status of many singles is on average higher than tha[t] population as a whole.

The other side of such ope[n] unrestrictedness, however, is hectic pace of living and re[s] caused by the permanent inner sion to be active.

Singles also tend to extend th[e] end pleasures into the Monday ing. An unsuccessful weekend i[s] a catastrophe for a single.

If unexpectedly left alone an[d] ve, many singles are prone to sion and are overcome by deep of loneliness and of having faile[d].

By this stage at the latest th[e] tance of a social and family ment for the stabilisation of the nal make-up becomes clear.

Persons living alone often choice but to pick up the phone immediately think of their Many are regular visitors parent's home.

The younger ones visit their every Sunday, above all, beca[use] can be waited on at home.

Older singles go home to meone to talk to. However, the are not always sweetness an[d] Many talk of proper quarrels.

And yet they still keep goi[ng] not because they feel obliged b[ut] their (vital) emotional re-charge.

Their parents give them w[hat] cannot get elsewhere. Constru[...] ing alone accompanied by a bi[...] contemplation is not always so a single is able to achieve.

Living alone can very soon l[...] loneliness.

Barbara B[...]

(Mannheimer Morgen, 12 M[...])

Second sexual revolution stands exposed

What the Ancient Greeks expected of three different classes of women, namely the slaves, the hotairas and their wives, romantics hope to find in one woman alone: a sexual partner, a companion through life and the mother of their children.

This view, on which a marriage out of love is based and which we today find quite natural, is recent.

It was only generally accepted during the period in which the bourgeoisie emerged and industrialisation was up-and-coming.

In the opinion of psycho-analyst Frau Marina Moeller-Gambaroff, of Gießen, this at the same time shows that the views on partnership between man and woman have not emerged from the nature of sexuality itself or from given pre-determinants of nature but have evolved over time in specific historical and social situations.

Sexologist Volkmar Sigusch, of Frankfurt, feels that individual sexual love first came about with the birth of the bourgeois individual.

The romantic ideal of marriage out of love was then the first step towards a partnership between man and woman on an equal footing, i. e. led to enhancing the status of the woman.

Historian Edward Shorter referred to this first bourgeois tendency towards marriage based on love as the "first sexual revolution".

However, Frau Moeller-Gambaroff points out that this boost in status could not change all that much with regard to the historical social role of the female.

The demands made of marriage based on love collided with the prudish Victorian sexual morals.

Ever since the early fifties, many of the handed-down moral concepts have become less and less important.

Greater liberality in sexual views ought to favour a more open partnership which has no need for the absolute dictate of faithfulness.

Claims to mutual possessiveness were regarded as unrealistic. Shorter refers to the fundamental change in sexual behaviour in this phase as the "second sexual revolution".

However, Frau Moeller-Gambaroff feels that such sexual experimentation often expected too much of those involved.

Although a certain easing-up in sexual morals was able to improve sexual relations, this second sexual revolution could not live up to the promise of fundamental change in relationships between man and woman.

There is a danger of sexuality becoming purely quantitatively oriented and superficial, felt by many to be an extension of the rules of the competitive world outside into the sphere of intimacy.

In view of such a depressing development, the courage and optimism of such an experienced woman and mother such as Frau Moeller-Gambaroff is necessary to still maintain that the idea of a true love relationship between a man and a woman can be achieved.

She believes such a relationship to be essential, simply because she highly rates the meaningfulness of a p[...] ship and what is more vi[...] pairing-off process as an eman[...] force.

However, she does not beli[eve] sexual liberation alone is ca[pable] achieve a long-lasting improve[ment] relationships.

Nevertheless, the special na[...] the man-woman relationship is c[...] ed in sexuality.

Problems within this relat[...] will, albeit not automatically, l[...] problems in sexual intercom[...] tion.

In fact, Frau Moeller-Gamba[roff] covered that sexual problems ca[...] ge precisely because the relation[...] felt to be particularly positive.

At the same time, sexual exp[...] on a superficial level must be di[...] tiated from experience which i[...] deep-rooted emotions.

In such cases, sexuality as a l[...] free skating ice-dancing couple [...] deed rule out any deeper involv[ement] although the physiological f[...] are intact.

This kind of "erotic ice-danci[ng]" though on the whole correspond[...] the image frequently propagated b[y] sex culture is neither able to g[...] loving care for one's partner [...] bring about a cheering self-kno[...] experience.

The feeling of doing something [...] is meaningful and remaining a di[...] ve personality is becoming mo[re] more difficult in everyday life.

This leads to strains on the re[...] ship to oneself; since this is just [...] sely connected with the partners[hip] with sexuality, Frau Moeller-G[ambar]off sees this as the link-point be[...]

Continued on page 15

SOCIETY

Top priority: removing the emotion from the foreigners issue

[O]ne of the trickiest tasks for the new Bonn government will be to find a [solut]ion to the problem of foreigners in [Ger]many.

[Th]e difficulty lies in the fact that no [gov]ernment can satisfy everybody on [this] issue. Whatever is decided, it is [boun]d to come under attack from one [quar]ter or another.

[Bu]t there is one point of agreement: [some]thing has to be done to prevent the [issue] from becoming dangerously emo[tiona]lised and getting out of control.

[Th]e old government failed to deal [with] this problem in any detail in a [polic]y statement last October, but it did [come] up with a number of basic policy [prin]ciples:

[In]tegration of the foreigners now in [Ger]many;

[R]estriction of a further influx; and

[R]epatriation incentives.

[In]tegration and repatriation incenti[ves a]re medium to long-term objectives. [T]he influx of more foreigners can be [stopp]ed as a short-term measure.

[A] few important points should be [take]n into account: latest statistics show [that] there are 4.67 million foreigners liv[ing i]n Germany of whom 1.58 million [are T]urks — by far the largest group. [This] group is two-and-a-half times as [large] as the 631,692 Yugoslavs, the se[con]d largest group.

[P]rojections on the future development of the foreign population of Germany (based on current aliens legislation) show that there will be 5.74 million in 1990 and about seven million in 2000.

Even if these figures prove excessive, it is still essential to prevent a steep growth in the foreign population. This would overtax economic potential in the long run.

Growth of the foreign population in 1981 and 1982 was entirely accounted for by the Turks. Despite the 1973 freeze on hiring aliens (the freeze is still in force) the Turkish population since then has risen by 75 per cent due to the influx of next-of-kin and asylum seekers.

This combined with the Turkish tendency to form ghettos and their reluctance to become integrated has made the problem essentially a Turkish one.

Other nationality groups that are large enough to matter (Yugoslavs, Italians, Greeks, Spaniards and Portuguese) pose no problems in terms of integration. And these groups have been getting smaller over the past few years.

All efforts to integrate the Turks will be useless if more keep coming. Our ability to provide jobs, housing and mixed schooling with German children is already strained to the limit.

The 1973 freeze on hiring must be maintained to its full extent. In addition, more stringent controls are necessary to prevent illegal immigration and work without a work permit.

One of the most important measures here would be to make visas mandatory for those coming to Germany.

To prevent illegal residence here, the law enforcement agencies would have to step up their controls. In addition, the socalled *Lohnsteuerkarte* (a tax department document where the employer lists tax and social security contributions deducted from pay) should only be issued to foreigners with a work and residence permit.

Since the Turkish association agreement with the EEC is to become effective in 1986, it will also be necessary to negotiate measures that will prevent a tide of Turks from seeking work in Germany after that time.

The preliminary talks between Bonn Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann and the Turkish government indicate that agreement can be reached.

A major source of conflict is the immigration of spouses and children of foreign workers living in Germany.

Here, we are faced with a clash between the general principle that families that families must be united and the need to curb the influx of foreigners. A solution to this problem can hardly be found in an emotionalised discussion.

Since there is little likelihood that the opposing views of the political parties and conflicting views within and between the churches and various welfare and charitable organisations can be reconciled, the new government might have to be prepared to make an unpopular decision. But whatever the decision, the ultimate aim must be integration.

This means that the immigration of next-of-kin must be kept at a level that will not interfere with integration efforts.

The immigration of spouses of the second generation of foreigners must therefore be governed by considerably stricter criteria. The idea is to prevent marriage from becoming an instrument of mass immigration of spouses to this country.

Exceptions to this rule should only be granted in cases where a foreigner who has lived here for a long time is prepared to become integrated by seeking German citizenship.

The Commission on Aliens Policy has made a number of detailed proposals worth considering.

The immigration of children should be possible only up to an age that makes future integration likely or at least possible.

The current dispute over whether the age limit should be six or eight is pointless inasmuch as both these age groups permit integrated schooling.

But the present age limit of 16 is not workable because children of that age stand no chance here because they don't speak enough German, don't have adequate vocational training and — above all — because there are not enough jobs.

We are certainly not doing them a favour by permitting them to come to this country. There is no reason why parents living in Germany cannot bring their children here at an earlier age.

The attitude the churches have adopted on this issue is logical from their vantage point, but it only aggravates the problem — to the detriment of the young people concerned. Statistics show that foreign teenagers who find themselves in Germany without speaking German and without a chance of a job increasingly turn to crime.

Restricting the immigration age would also have a salutory effect on those parents who want to bring their teenage children to this country only because they hope that they will find work and bolster the family income.

No policy aimed at integration can actively support this attitude.

Concrete measures are needed if integration is not to remain utopian. Foreigners working and living here should after a number of years be given the option of either becoming naturalised or returning to their home countries after a reasonable period of grace.

Naturally, it will take a great deal of discussion to work out the details of and possible exemptions

In any event, a repatriation drive can only be successful if enough incentives are provided. Since the earning potential in the various home countries — especially in Turkey — is much worse than here, people are unlikely to consider returning home unless they are given financial incentives to do so.

Of course, the extent of these incentives will depend on how full or empty government coffers are.

One thing, however, is out of the question: forcing people to return home — except in cases where the law calls for deportation.

There is one thing that must not be overlooked in the discussion of possible avenues that will lead to a solution of the aliens problem: anybody who permits himself morality and inescapable facts will be unable to come up with a solution.

Granted, the needs of statecraft don't take priority over everything else; but the welfare of the nation's own people does take priority over general humanitarian considerations.

By the same token, the alternative must not be inhumane towards non-Germans.

Walter Bajohr

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 11 March 1983)

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social and historical processes on the one hand and individual experiences and possibilities of experiencing on the other.

This is the decisive source of sexual problems.

In cases where the ability to perceive one's own ego has been blocked in early years, adults find it difficult to gain access to their personalities and their sexuality.

A businessman who is constantly under pressure, for example, has no relationship to his own body until he gets his first heart attack. Up until this point he feels no pain.

However, only when integrated experience of one's own sexuality leads to a deeper understanding of one's partner, can a sexual encounter become an experience in which for one timeless moment the barriers between one's own self and that of the partner disappear.

Wolfgang Cyran

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 9 March 1983)